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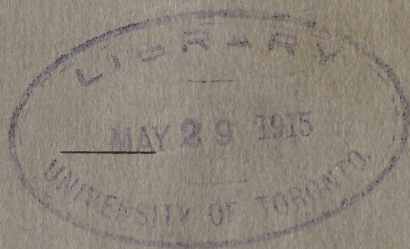
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# HISTORICAL ESSAYS ON APPRENTICE- SHIP AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

BY

JONATHAN FRENCH SCOTT, Ph.D.

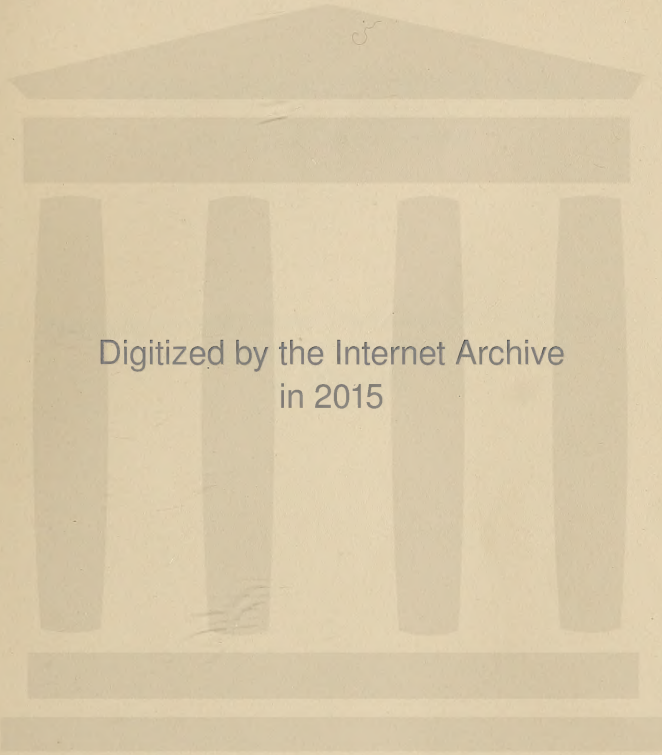
Instructor in History  
at the University of Michigan



ANN ARBOR PRESS  
1914



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# HISTORICAL ESSAYS ON APPRENTICE- SHIP AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

BY

JONATHAN FRENCH SCOTT, Ph.D.

Instructor in History  
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The Outgrowth of a Thesis Submitted for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy at the University  
of Wisconsin

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## FOREWORD.

This little book of essays is the outgrowth of a thesis written in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Wisconsin. The thesis was originally entitled "The Apprenticeship System in England from its Beginnings to 1563." On account of the rather barren character of some of the material, however, and because something of the same ground was covered by Miss Dunlop's book "English Apprenticeship and Child Labour," I have thought it best not to publish the work in its original form. I have therefore collected certain chapters of the thesis and added to these, three articles, two of which appeared in *The Elementary School Teacher* and the other in *The Pedagogical Seminary*. The first two I have revised slightly.

I take this occasion to render thanks to Professors Dana C. Munro and Alfred L. P. Dennis, of the Department of History of the University of Wisconsin, under whose direction the thesis was done, to Professor Paul Monroe, of Teachers College, Columbia University, who has given me help at various times, and to Professor Arthur L. Cross of the University of Michigan. I am especially grateful to Dean Edwin F. Gay, of Harvard University, for suggestions and criticisms given to me in the course of my study.

JONATHAN F. SCOTT,

Ann Arbor, Michigan, May, 1914.





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## CHAPTER I.

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF APPRENTICESHIP AS A GILD REQUIREMENT.

The beginnings of the English apprenticeship system are veiled in the obscurity of the early Middle Ages. Perhaps the custom originated in the handing down of an art from father to son. Perhaps the lord of the manor developed the habit of sending youthful serfs to an older man to be trained by him in some such art as the cutting of stone or the making of cloth. It may be that the system grew out of instruction in the handicrafts given to youngsters by the monks. Under such auspices as these, however, the institution was never given an organized form. It came to be of importance only in connection with the craft guilds.

A craft gild is known to have existed in England as early as the first part of the twelfth century, but not until the latter half of the thirteenth is there any mention of apprenticeship in gild records. Inasmuch as these associations of workers in the industrial arts grew to power and importance in the later Middle Ages, it is quite natural to suppose that apprenticeship was a flourishing institution during that period. It may even be assumed that no one could become a master of a craft in England during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries unless he had previously passed through a regular apprenticeship under gild supervision.

It is a mistake, however, to take it for granted that in the later Middle Ages apprenticeship had become a gild requirement everywhere in England. Not only was the institution of slow growth, developing to a high degree in some towns long before it had appeared in others, but it was only one of several ways of obtaining the freedom of the craft and of the municipality. The two other chief ways of acquiring the two franchises were patrimony and redemption. The three methods are set forth in a record of the latter thirteenth century, "*Sed sciendum est quod tribus modis adquiritur homini libertas civitatis:—Primo quod sit homo natus in civitate legitime ex*

patre; secundo quod homo sit apprenticius cum libero homine per septem annos et non minus, tertio quod homo mutuatur suam libertatem coram majore et aliis aldermannis cum camerario civitatis.”<sup>1</sup>

Apprenticeship, then, could be avoided by those who could afford to buy the freedom and by those who inherited it from their parents. Sometimes one who had served only a part of his term purchased the right to escape the rest and set up at once in his craft.<sup>2</sup> Many instances of admissions to gild membership by redemption in the fourteenth century and later might be given.<sup>3</sup> Indeed the practice seems to have persisted in some places throughout the whole history of the gilds and livery companies.<sup>4</sup> The right of patrimony also endured long after the enactment of the Statute of Artificers in 1562.<sup>5</sup>

In attempting to show at what time the gilds began to insist upon apprenticeship, Professor Ashley fails to recognize the existence of these two customs.

“In the early part of the fourteenth century,” he says, “apprenticeship was only gradually becoming an absolutely necessary preliminary to setting up as a master.”<sup>6</sup> In a footnote he gives his evidence for this statement, “That it was only beginning to be necessary in 1347 is shown by the ordinance of the White Tawyers ‘that no one who has not finished his term of apprenticeship in the said trade, shall be made free of the said trade; unless it be attested by the overseers for the time being or by four persons of the said trade, that such person is able

<sup>1</sup> Chronicle of Edward I and Edward II, vol. I, pp. 85, 86.

<sup>2</sup> The Cordwainers of London in 1272 provided that if an apprentice should occupy his craft before he had completed his term, he must satisfy his master for the arrearage of his years and pay to the gild forty shillings. Liber Memorandum. Mun. Gildh. Lon. vol. 3, p. 441; Sharpe, Letter-Book D. p. 182 and passim; Markham and Cox, Northampton, vol. 2, p. 277; Hartshorne, Northampton, p. 92.

<sup>3</sup> Sharpe, Letter-Book D. pp. 151-152, 159, 162, 163, 164, 182; Herbert, Hist. Livery Companies, vol. 1, p. 424; Sharpe, Letter-Book H. pp. 162, 235; Christie, Parish Clerks, p. 103; Clode, Early Hist., Merchant Taylors, vol. I, p. 38; Dendy, F. W., Hostmen of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, p. 25; Doncaster Records, vol. IV, p. 32; Harris, Coventry Leet Book, vol. I, p. 255; Ibid, vol. 2, p. 574; Morris, Chester, p. 445; Kemp, Black Book of Warwick, pp. 22 and passim; Reading Records, vol. 2, p. 339; etc.

<sup>4</sup> Herbert, Livery Companies, vol. I, p. 46; Lambert, Two Thousand Years of Gild Life, p. 191.

<sup>5</sup> Dunlop and Denman, English Apprenticeship and Child Labour, p. 87. See footnote.



and sufficiently skilled to be made free of the same.' ”<sup>7</sup> What Ashley says does not prove that apprenticeship was beginning to be necessary at this date; it merely shows that such preparation was not always insisted upon at that time. In another place he says “in some instances they (the craft ordinances) even speak of the freedom of the trade as a thing that could be ‘bought’ ”<sup>8</sup> These passages indicate but a dim perception of the practice of redemption, and no realization of the fact that apprenticeship never became, in all gilds, the sole road to the position of master.

But while the practice of redemption long persisted, yet there is evidence that it became increasingly difficult for one who had not served an apprenticeship to become a freeman by this method. London craftsmen took an attitude of opposition to the custom. In 1407-8 (9 Hen. IV.) the Commons of the metropolis complained that strangers were admitted to the franchise by redemption on payment of a small sum, “whereas they (the petitioners) had obtained their freedom by long apprenticeship and often by payment of a large sum to their masters. They pray, therefore, that the freedom of the city may thenceforth be obtained by apprenticeship only, each apprentice paying to the Chamberlain for his entrance 20s.”<sup>9</sup> Clode says that in Tudor times the privilege of redemption was usually granted at the instance of the King or the Mayor of London and was resented by the craftsmen.<sup>10</sup>

The tendency to do away with admissions to the franchise by redemption is seen in the case of other towns. For example the Weavers of Bury St. Edmunds in 1477 forbade entrance to their craft to any but “such persons as have be apprentyses to the seyd crafte.”<sup>11</sup> In many instances the stranger coming to a town could purchase the right to occupy a craft only if he had previously served somewhere else a full apprenticeship.<sup>12</sup> This

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<sup>7</sup> Economic History and Theory, vol. I, p. 89.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. Taken from Riley, Memorials of London Life, p. 234. The ordinances are dated 1346 by Riley.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, p. 84.

<sup>10</sup> Sharpe, Letter-Book, I. p. 63.

<sup>11</sup> Early History of the Merchant Taylors, vol. I, p. 38.

<sup>12</sup> Hist. Mss. Comm. 14th Rept. vol. VIII, p. 135.

<sup>13</sup> Kemp, Black Book of Warwick, pp. 67, 68. Ordinances of the Skinners, Pointmakers and Glovers; Ibid, pp. 21, 22, 67, 68, 72, 120, 121; Doncaster Records, vol. IV, pp. 18, 32; Davies, Southampton, p. 275; Fox, Merchant Taylors of Bristol, pp. 60, 82; Hist. Mss. Comm. 12th Rept. vol. III (1891) p. 417, Ord. Journeymen Weavers of Glou-

restriction is found more frequently after the passage of the Statute of Artificers, which forbade anyone to exercise a trade unless he had served seven years.<sup>13</sup> It is clear, then, that while redemption did not die out, there was a decided tendency to prevent its being substituted for apprenticeship as a means of attaining the right to set up as a master.

The privilege of patrimony also came to be restricted in some places. The Ordinances of the Butchers of Gloucester, 1571, forbade any one of their company to "instruct or suffer to be taught any son of his own above the age of 14 or any servant of his in any point or cunning belonging to the said occupation until such time as such son or servant have been presented to the Master and Wardens, and then to be bound by indenture as his apprentice or covenant servant for the term of seven years at least."<sup>14</sup> Similar rules were made by the Metalworkers of Gloucester in 1607,<sup>15</sup> and the Needlemakers of London in 1664.<sup>16</sup> The Statute of Artificers of course virtually forbade the substitution of patrimony for apprenticeship, but it did not succeed in breaking up the practice.<sup>17</sup> In the case of those admitted to a trade by this method a certain amount of skill seems to have been assumed, but patrimony alone was not a sufficient guarantee of proper training,<sup>18</sup> and this may account for the insistence of some of the guilds that the sons of members be apprenticed.

From the foregoing discussion, then, it is evident that apprenticeship never became an absolutely necessary preliminary

cester, 1602; Ferguson and Nanson, *Carlisle*, p. 181; Morris, *Chester*, p. 445.

<sup>13</sup> Had the statute been vigorously enforced it would of course have put an end to the custom of purchasing the master's position in lieu of obtaining it by apprenticeship, but the law was somewhat laxly administered. See Chapter III.

<sup>14</sup> Hist. Mss. Comm. 12th Rept., vol. IX, 1891, p. 524.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 428.

<sup>16</sup> Company of Needlemakers of London, p. 39, By-laws, 1664.

<sup>17</sup> Dunlop, *op. cit.* p. 87.

<sup>18</sup> Sir Thomas Gresham wrote in a letter to the Duke of Northumberland. "I myself was bound prentisse VIII yeres, to come by the experience and knowledge that I have. Neverthelesse I need not to have bynne prentisse, for that I was free by my father's coppye; albeit my father Sir Richard Gresham being a wyse man, knew, although I was free by his coppye, it was to no purpose, except I were bound prentisse to the same; whereby to come by the experience and knowledge of all kinds of merchandise." Burgon, *J. W., Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham*, vol. I, p. 47.

to the exercise of a trade, though it gradually came to be the most usual method.<sup>19</sup> It still remains to be considered at what time it began to be prerequisite for those who became gild members, by other methods than patrimony or redemption.

If a man had to be free of the city of London in the latter thirteenth century in order to set up in trade, then apprenticeship was already one of the three possible means of attaining the master's position, patrimony and redemption being the other two, as has been shown.<sup>20</sup> But it cannot be definitely stated that he had to be a freeman of the city at this time in order to engage in trade, for the city government was weak; the king suspended the mayoralty in 1285<sup>21</sup> and when he restored it twelve years later, it was on condition that foreigners within the municipality be allowed freedom of trade.<sup>22</sup>

In the confusion of Edward II's reign, however, the craft guilds gained a new position in London;<sup>23</sup> and the evidence indicates that from the early fourteenth century a man could not exercise his craft unless he were first granted the civic franchise.<sup>24</sup> In 1319 a charter was given to the city which, according to Cunningham,<sup>25</sup> virtually limited the freedom of London to members of the trade guilds. Furthermore, craft ordinances, from about 1330 onward, definitely provided that "no one of the . . . . . trade shall keep a house or shop to carry on his business, unless he is free of the city."<sup>26</sup> It is therefore safe to say that from the early part of the fourteenth century apprenticeship became one of the three alternative requirements for the master's position in London.

It is probable that the usage of London spread to other cities, for mention is frequently made of "apprenticeship after the custom of London"; but it spread very gradually. The fourteenth century ordinances of Bristol scarcely mention appren-

<sup>19</sup> Herbert, *Livery Companies*, vol. I, p. 46.

<sup>20</sup> Chron. Edw. I and Edw. II, vol. I, pp. 85-86.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, pp. 94, 95; Kingdon, *Grocers*, vol. I, p. XIII; Fabyan's *Chronicle*, pp. 389, 400.

<sup>22</sup> Unwin, *Gilds of London*, p. 67.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> In 1309 a young man was fined because "he trafficked after the end of his term and before admission" to the city freedom. Sharpe, *Letter-Book D*, p. 100; Ibid, *Letter Book E*, p. 7.

<sup>25</sup> *Growth of English Industry and Commerce, Early and Middle Ages*, p. 383.

<sup>26</sup> Riley, *Memorials of London Life*, p. 227, *Articles of the Spurriers*; Ibid, pp. 239, 247, 278, 322, 354 and *passim*.



ticeship, though they refer frequently to "servants" and "covenant servants."<sup>27</sup> The civic franchise was to be obtained at this time, not by apprenticeship, but by either of two other methods:

1. The payment of £10 or, 2. residence "with their masters as good servants by the space of seven years."<sup>28</sup> It may be claimed that covenant service was practically the same as apprenticeship, but there is this difference—the medieval apprentice received no pay or next to none, while the wages of a covenant servant were practically equivalent to those of a journeyman.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore it was possible to exercise a craft at this time without having obtained the civic freedom, and therefore without having served seven years in the town.<sup>30</sup> Evidently apprenticeship was not definitely established as a gild and municipal requirement in Bristol in the fourteenth century.

In the early fifteenth century, however, the situation changed. In 1407 the Dyers complained that certain persons were exercising their art "who have never been apprentices or masters of the same craft."<sup>31</sup> In 1418 the Barbers made a rule that "no master of the said craft henceforth take any apprentice to the same craft for less than the term of seven years,"<sup>32</sup> and the Fullers in the same year passed a similar regulation.<sup>33</sup> The word "henceforth" indicates that previously the seven-year term of apprenticeship had not been required. All in all, the evidence goes to show that the institution had not been fully established by the Bristol gilds at the opening of the fifteenth cen-

<sup>27</sup> Bickley, *Little Red Book of Bristol*, vols. I and II, *passim*.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* vol. II, pp. 47-49.

<sup>29</sup> Covenant servants in the Hoopers' Company were to be paid 40 s. a year, journeymen 12 d. a week. Ordinances of the Hoopers, Bickley, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 164. The fact that the covenant servant received regular, the journeyman irregular employment, must be taken into consideration.

<sup>30</sup> A municipal law reads: "All those who are not burgesses and wish to trade or exercise their craft within the town and have not the means or will not pay the said sum of £ 10. . . may be received as portmen," paying a discretionary fine. Bickley, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 47-49.

<sup>31</sup> Bickley, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 86. The remedy provided, however, was not the requirement of a seven-years' apprenticeship, but "that henceforth no man of the said craft undertake to dye any cloth or wool unless it be presented that he is good and able and sufficiently learned in the said craft." See also *ibid.* *Skinners' Ordinances of 1408*.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* p. 138.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.* p. 142. The Fullers' Ordinances are given twice before this date and in neither case is apprenticeship mentioned.

ture. It seems to have been preceded by, and may have grown out of, the custom of covenant service.

It would be tedious to give the details of the development of the apprenticeship requirement in other places, but one or two examples may be cited to show that very possibly it was not fully established everywhere in England even as late as the first half of the sixteenth century. The *Liber Custumarum* of Northampton<sup>34</sup> contains a large number of ordinances of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; in most of these there is no mention whatsoever of apprenticeship, though two of the clothing crafts made rules that the master's position was to be obtained by service as an apprentice or by redemption.<sup>35</sup> In the first three volumes of the Records of Nottingham covering the period 1155 to 1547, there is but one mention of apprenticeship—an indenture of the year 1488, binding a youth for six years.<sup>36</sup> There are numerous records of admissions to the franchise of the town during the same period, none of which indicates that the candidate has been an apprentice.<sup>37</sup> The fact that laborers and husbandmen were admitted, indicates that the franchise was not confined to craftsmen.<sup>38</sup> In the last three volumes of these records, however, covering the period 1547 to 1702, apprenticeship is frequently mentioned. On the whole it seems quite possible that previous to the passage of the Statute of Artificers apprenticeship was of little importance as a gild requirement in the boroughs of Northampton and Nottingham.

In certain towns the craft gilds did not develop until late;<sup>39</sup> in others there seem to have been no craft gilds at all, and con-

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<sup>34</sup> Markham and Cox, Northampton, vol. I.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.* vol. I, p. 299, Ordinances of the Weavers, 1462; *ibid.* p. 292 Ordinances of the Fullers, ca. 1450; See also *ibid.* p. 239, Ordinances of the Carpenters.

<sup>36</sup> Nottingham Records, vol. 2, p. 429.

<sup>37</sup> The fee for admission is uniformly 6s. 8d., while if apprenticeship were one of the means of obtaining the franchise, we should expect a variation of fees, more being paid for admission by redemption than by apprenticeship.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 188, 190.

<sup>39</sup> Boyle, in his history of Hedon, says "The earliest evidence, so far as I know, of the existence of a craft gild at Hedon, occurs in the Court Book of the period of Henry VII, wherein, about the eighteenth year of that king's reign a series of ordinances of the craft of weavers is enrolled." pp. 172-173. Hedon was incorporated in Henry II's reign. *Ibid.* p. 14.

sequently no organized system of apprenticeship.<sup>40</sup> Of course there must have been some method of learning a trade in these places, but there is much difference between the artisan's custom of taking a boy and teaching him a trade in a greater or less period of time, and the institution as developed by the guilds, with their requirement of seven years' service and their careful regulation and supervision. Even where the misteries existed, they might delay in establishing the apprenticeship requirement. In any case it is unsafe to say that by 1450 "apprenticeship was practiced by most guilds and towns."<sup>41</sup>

As regards the rise of the apprenticeship system, the truth is probably this:—When a handicraft grew to sufficient importance in a town, when the men engaged in it obtained sufficient influence with the municipal government, it was organized on a guild basis. The artisans perceived the advantage of combining together and getting a monopoly of their trade in the local market, instead of competing against one another. They strengthened this monopoly by conferring special privileges on the sons of members of their fraternity, by exacting considerable fees from those admitted by redemption, or by requiring a long term of apprenticeship. This process was well developed in London in the fourteenth century, and by the opening of the fifteenth the more prominent crafts were in a position to demand a preliminary apprenticeship even of their journeymen. But in some other places the growth of the system was less rapid. It gained strength gradually during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but was not fully established even at the end of this period. In the sixteenth century the requirement of the seven year term of service was quite customary,<sup>42</sup> and was legally established for the whole realm by the Statute of Artificers in 1562. But, as will be shown later, by the time this act was passed, forces were operating to break down the institution, so that it never became the sole means of entering a trade.

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<sup>40</sup> Ashley, *Economic History and Theory*, vol. I, p. 96; "The traces of craft guilds at Cambridge are scanty." Bateson, *Cambridge Gild Records*, Introduction, p. IX.

<sup>41</sup> Dunlop and Denman, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

<sup>42</sup> This is implied in *The Discourse of the Commercial* (Lamond, ed.) p. 129; Vide also Lyndsay, *Poetical Works*, *Ane Satire of the Thrie Estates*, p. 190.



## CHAPTER II.

### THE JOURNEYMAN.

The first fact to be kept in mind in regard to the journeyman is that he was originally, as the etymology of the word indicates, one who worked by the day for an employer; he was not necessarily a man who had completed a seven-years' apprenticeship. Even where the apprenticeship requirement developed, journeymanship in England during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was not a well-defined stage of service as it was on the continent. The English guilds of this period did not usually prevent an apprentice from setting up as a master immediately on completing his term; in France, on the contrary, there were many regulations tending to keep the youth for some length of time in the position of "ouvrier," after he had completed his years of apprenticeship. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries similar obstacles were devised in England, but it is doubtful if they ever became as great as on the continent.

In both countries lack of capital tended of course to prevent the journeyman from becoming a master; but it is with the artificial barriers that we are here concerned. Let us therefore trace the development, first of the apprenticeship requirement for the journeyman, and second, of those other regulations which delayed him from setting up in trade for himself.

In London the insistence on a seven-year term of service as a prerequisite to journeyman work did not develop until the latter fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. In 1355 the Braelers of the metropolis passed an ordinance that no master should employ any journeyman "if such person be not first proved and assayed by the masters of the same trade, as being skilled in his trade. And if there be any journeyman in such calling, who does not know his trade, let him be ousted therefrom, if he will not be apprenticed to learn his trade." Other guilds made similar rules during the same century.<sup>1</sup> The im-

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<sup>1</sup> Sharpe, Letter-Book F, p. 198; Ibid, Letter-Book G, pp. 159, 160; Ibid, p. 188; Riley, Memorials, p. 514.

plication is that ordinarily a journeyman could learn his trade without having been apprenticed. An ordinance of the London Cutlers shows clearly that in their gild, and therefore probably in some other gilds, a previous apprenticeship was not necessary for journeymen as late as 1380.<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, gild legislation of the latter fourteenth century indicates a growing strictness anent the requirements laid on journeymen. The Haberdashers in 1371 forbade any master to teach his journeyman the trade "under colour of service or otherwise" unless the journeyman were regularly bound to him as an apprentice.<sup>3</sup> Thus the company tried to exclude the untrained worker from any position but that of apprentice. In 1376 the Grocers prohibited masters from taking any servants who had not served a full apprenticeship<sup>4</sup> and in 1398 the Leathersellers decreed "that none henceforth put man, child or woman, to work in the same mistery, if they be not bound apprentice and inrolled in the same mistery, excepting their wives and children; as the custom and the ordinances of the said city will and demand."<sup>5</sup> The word "henceforth" implies that previously the preliminary apprenticeship had not been required of journeymen, but it indicates at the same time a change of policy in this matter.

Yet an ordinance of 1408 leads to the belief that the requirement had not been adopted at that date by the Bladesmiths. "Also that no one of the said trade shall teach his journeyman the secrets of his trade as he would his apprentice."<sup>6</sup> Had the preliminary term been necessary for a journeyman the by-law would have been useless, for he would have learned the "secrets of the trade" during apprenticeship. But the intimation is that in future a full knowledge of the craft was to be confined to workers who had been duly bound out. In 1406 the Forcer-

<sup>2</sup> "No journeyman working in the same trade, who is not free, or who has not been apprenticed to the trade, and has not completed his term in the said city or otherwise served seven years within the city in such trade, shall be admitted to work in the same, if such journeyman have not first been tried by the overseers sworn in the trade, as to his knowledge therein, to ascertain how much he is deserving to take by the day, by the week, or for the whole term." Riley, *Memorials*, p. 439.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 354.

<sup>4</sup> "Item that none of the company shall keep any in his shop unless he be his apprentice or his servant, who has served as apprentice (in the mistery) beyond his whole term." Kingdon, *Grocers*, Vol. I, p. 21.

<sup>5</sup> Black, *Leathersellers*, p. 21; Riley, *Memorials*, p. 547.

<sup>6</sup> Riley, *Memorials*, p. 570.

makers forbade members of their gild to instruct any person "until he shall have been made apprentice, according to the custom of the said city, without fraud or evil intent."<sup>7</sup> All this evidence shows that journeymen could work at some of the London crafts in the fourteenth century without having served a seven-year term of apprenticeship. At the same time it is clear that there was a growing tendency on the part of the gilds in the latter fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries to insist on such preliminary service.

In other municipalities the requirement developed later than in London. The craft ordinances of the important town of Bristol furnish no evidence of it before 1439, when a regulation of the Barbers provided "that no maner of persone of the seide Crafte holdyng shoppe schal occupye no maner seruauant in covenant to be in seruice with hym in no maner coloure withoute he have be apprentyce by dede VII yhere complete atte the Crafte aforesaid."<sup>8</sup> In the "*Liber Custumarum*" of Northampton are a number of craft ordinances of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, none of which indicates that a worker must first be apprenticed in order to become a journeyman.<sup>9</sup> On the contrary a fifteenth century ordinance of the Carpenters implies that their trade could be taught to journeymen who were apprenticed for that purpose.<sup>10</sup> A by-law of the Coventry Barbers in 1445 shows that journeyman barbers might escape the seven year term of apprenticeship. No master was to set any man of the craft at work "but yif he have been prentes atte seid Craft, or elles that he can his Craft well and sufficiently, the whiche may be proved be the maysters of the seide Craft, or be lefall lawd(ab)ul persones of the same craft."<sup>11</sup>

In certain other places the apprenticeship system probably did not exist at all, or else existed only in undeveloped form before the middle of the sixteenth century. In these localities the seven year term could hardly have been a prerequisite for journeyman work. The Statute of Artificers recognizes the existence of a class of more or less skilled workers at the crafts, who had not yet completed seven years' apprenticeship. It pro-

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, p. 564.

<sup>8</sup> Bickley, *Little Red Book of Bristol*, vol. II, p. 156.

<sup>9</sup> Markham and Cox, *Records of Northampton*, vol. I, pp. 198-430.

<sup>10</sup> The Carpenters, in stating what fees a journeyman should pay, made this exception, "provided that the aforesaid craftsman be not an apprentice within the town aforesaid nor under the instruction of some master of the said craft." Ibid. p. 239.

<sup>11</sup> Harris, *Coventry Leet Book*, Vol. I, p. 225.



vides that every person unmarried and under thirty years of age, etc., etc., "having been brought up in any of the said Artes Crafts or Sciences,<sup>12</sup> *or that hathe used or exercised any of them by the space of three yeres or more*" shall be required to serve in his craft "upon request made by any person using the Arte or Mystery wherein the said person so requyred hathe been exercised as ys aforesaid." Such service must be for not less than one year at a time.<sup>13</sup> The phrase "three yeres or more" shows that there were men working at certain crafts, who had not served seven-year apprenticeships; they were not themselves apprentices, for apprentices bound out to masters could not be called upon to serve by the year upon request. These workers may not have all been journeymen,<sup>14</sup> but there is no reason to suppose that journeymen were not included among them.

On the other hand, another clause of the same act practically necessitates a preliminary apprenticeship of seven years for journeymen in the future. No man may "set anye person on woork in such Misterye Arte or Occupacon, *being not a Worckman at this Day*, excepte he shall have been apprentice as ys aforesaid, *orels having served as an Apprentice as ys aforesaid, shall or will become a journeyman, or be hyred by the yere.*" The clause shows that anyone who was a journeyman at the time of the passage of the act, might remain in that position even if he had not served a full apprenticeship, but it necessitates such apprenticeship for anyone who should wish to become a journeyman in the future. Thus the requirement of a seven-year term before journeymanship reaches its culmination in the Statute of Artificers.

In England and on the continent the gilds devised obstacles to prolong the journeyman stage for those who had completed

<sup>12</sup> Specified in Section 2 of the same act.

<sup>13</sup> Section 3 and Section 2.

<sup>14</sup> Why are we entitled to believe that journeymen belonged in this class?

In the first place the phrase "three yeres or more" shows that the workers referred to were somewhat skilled in special crafts and were thus differentiated from unskilled laborers. Secondly, our evidence has indicated that there were places where the seven-year term was not a prerequisite for journeymen in the sixteenth century. Finally, it is not unlikely that the word "journeyman," as its etymology indicates, still signified anyone who worked by the day at any craft. If this be true, then all persons referred to in the clause of the statute referred to, were journeymen.

their apprenticeships. It has even been held that many journeymen were permanently excluded from the position of master. Thus Unwin says, "As a result of these combined causes, there grew up in every industrial centre of Western Europe from the middle of the fourteenth century onward, a body of workmen in every craft who had no prospect before them but that of remaining journeymen all their lives, and who were therefore bound together by an increasing consciousness of a class interest which separated them from their employers." As causes he specifies the raising of the entrance fee, the cost of a dinner or a 'drinking' and in continental countries the production of a chef-d'oeuvre. He maintains that in those occupations which remained on a handicraft basis the operation of such causes prevented the majority of those apprenticed to a trade from becoming masters.<sup>15</sup>

It is not probable, however, that most of the English guilds during the fourteenth century and at least part of the fifteenth took very active measures to restrain the apprentice from setting up in trade on completing his years of service. The young man was, indeed, examined as to his skill in his trade and it may be that this examination was used to limit unduly the number of masters. Of this I find no complaint in the records, however.

Unwin thinks that in some trades the mastership came to be "closed to all but the more fortunate apprentices by the largeness of the entrance fee,"<sup>16</sup> but there are certain facts which appear to make a modification of this statement necessary. In the first place it must be remembered that the premium for binding the lad to a master was usually the heaviest expense.<sup>17</sup> If the apprentice's parents were able to stand this cost and the fee for enrollment, they were presumably in a position to pay

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<sup>15</sup> Industrial Organization, p. 48.

<sup>16</sup> Industrial Organization, p. 62.

<sup>17</sup> Liber Albus, p. 442; Sharpe, Letter-Book A, p. 5; Strype's Stow, vol. II, p. 432; Smythe, Girdlers, p. 63; Miss Dunlop says "Premiums did not come into vogue until the seventeenth century" (English Apprenticeship, p. 53). The following statement shows their existence at a much earlier date, "Friday next before Palm Sunday, the same year (1276), came Johanna de (Frowyk) before the Mayor and other reputable men, and acknowledged that she owed William de Wautham 20 s. by reason of an agreement between them made touching the apprenticeship of Robert her son (Sharpe, Letter-Book A. p. 5); See *ibid.* for another example, the premium to be "one mark quarterly for a term of nine years."

whatever was necessary to enable him to set up shop. Moreover, it should be noted that an act of Henry IV forbade those not possessed of "Land or Rent to the Value of Twenty Shillings by the year at the least" to bind out their children as apprentices in the boroughs.<sup>18</sup> Unwin speaks of the "permanent journeyman" of the fourteenth century, but I can find no evidence either in his book or elsewhere that the journeyman who had served an apprenticeship of seven years was excluded permanently from the master's position. Indeed it is not impossible that in such places as Bristol a journeyman who had worked with a master for seven years, not bound out as an apprentice, but receiving wages during the whole period, was entitled at the end of that time to set up in trade for himself.<sup>19</sup>

Early in the fifteenth century an action was brought in the Court of King's Bench against one John Dyer for using his craft within a certain time in spite of giving bond not to do so. Gruff old Justice Hull wrathfully said that the imposition of such a condition was contrary to the common law "and by God if the plaintiff was here, he should go to prison till he paid a fine to the king."<sup>20</sup> During the fifteenth century, however, the obstacles erected by the guilds to prevent an apprentice from setting up as a master on completing his term do not appear to have been very great,<sup>21</sup> though the Leathersellers, one of the principal companies of London, complain that their apprentices "will in no wise become servants to serve with their masters, for reasonable wages, as their masters did afore them, but anone, they having no good or little good to take unto, taken upon them every of them a mansion or a shop to be upon themselves, having no good nor ware of their own to put therein."<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless the company does not forbid their setting up as masters on completing their terms.

There was a much greater development of journeyman requirements in France during the thirteenth, fourteenth and

<sup>18</sup> 7 Hen. II, c. 17.

<sup>19</sup> Bickley, *Little Red Book of Bristol*, vol. 2, pp. 47-49.

<sup>20</sup> Coke 6, 103; Year-Book 2 Henry V, 5. The king's courts seem always to have decided against the attempt to prevent one who had duly served his apprenticeship, from exercising his trade. Coke 6, 103; Moore 242, 29 Eliz.; Owen 143.

<sup>21</sup> An indenture of 1451 provides that "he shall work one year after the seven at the wages of 20 s." Clode, *Early History of the Merchant Taylors*, vol. I, p. 344.

<sup>22</sup> Black, *Leathersellers, Ordinances of 1482*.



fifteenth centuries than in England. In Paris of the thirteenth century it was necessary for a workman to prove that he had already been through an apprenticeship elsewhere in order to become a "valet."<sup>23</sup> In St. Louis' time whoever had completed his apprenticeship could set up as a master "s'il avait de quoi" but this condition of affairs did not endure.<sup>24</sup>

The chef d'oeuvre became an important obstacle to the attainment of the master's position. In the thirteenth century ordinances of the guilds of Paris, only one mention is made of the chef d'oeuvre,<sup>25</sup> but in the fourteenth century this requirement became more frequent<sup>26</sup> and in the fifteenth quite general.<sup>27</sup> The chef d'oeuvre was by no means a simple examination;<sup>28</sup> its construction was often a long and costly process,<sup>29</sup> with attendant expenses for the entertainment of guild members.<sup>30</sup> It was sometimes used to exclude from mastership those who were not the sons of masters.<sup>31</sup>

In France, banquets, drinkings, fees and other payments by the candidate increased in number and importance during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, making the attainment of mastership increasingly difficult in many corporations.<sup>32</sup> Some of the companies began to require of the workman a definite term of service after the completion of apprenticeship, varying from one to four or five years,<sup>33</sup> thus making journeyman-ship a distinct stage of service, like apprenticeship. In some corporations during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the number of masters was fixed and journeymen must wait their

<sup>23</sup> Levasseur, *Histoire des Classes Ouvrieres* (2nd ed.) vol. I, p. 309.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* p. 598.

<sup>25</sup> Levasseur, *op. cit.* vol. I, p. 280.

<sup>26</sup> Fagniez, G., *Etudes sur L'Industrie et la Classe Industrielle à Paris au XIIIe et au XIVe Siecle*, p. 94; *Ibid.* *Documents Relatifs à L'Histoire de l'Industrie et du Commerce en France*, vol. II, pp. 87, 101, 111, etc.

<sup>27</sup> Levasseur, *op. cit.* vol. I, p. 564.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* vol. I, p. 565.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* p. 564.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 569, 570.

<sup>31</sup> Hubert-Valleroux, *Les Corporations d'Arts, etc.*, p. 46; Levasseur, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 568.

<sup>32</sup> Fagniez, *Etudes*, pp. 98, 101, 102; Fagniez, *Documents*, vol. II, p. 120, *Ordonnances of the Paris Butchers*, 1381; *Ibid.* p. 219; *Ibid.* p. 279; Levasseur, *op. cit.* vol. I, p. 568.

<sup>33</sup> Levasseur, *op. cit.* vol. I, p. 571; Fagniez, *Etudes*, p. 93; *Ibid.* p. 102; Martin Saint-Leon, *Le Compagnonnage*, p. 31.

turns before they were granted the office.<sup>34</sup> In other gilds, for example the Paris butchers, the monopoly of trade was reserved to certain families.<sup>35</sup> By such devices the French corporations restricted their membership, and prolonged the period of journeyman service. Something of the same spirit of monopoly developed in England but it is evident that contemporary usages differed considerably in the two countries.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the English gilds increased the requirements for the attainment of the Master's position. Some of the London companies forbade apprentices to set up in their trades after their years were up unless worth a considerable sum, sometimes as much as ten pounds.<sup>36</sup> The weavers of Bristol in 1652 required the prospective master to have a capital of five pounds.<sup>37</sup> The fees in the city companies increased also, as these took on more of an aristocratic character. In Henry VIII's time the charges of some of the corporations had become so high as to necessitate remedial legislation; they were requiring of apprentices twenty, thirty, and even forty shillings as entrance fees. A statute was therefore passed forbidding any company to exact more than two shillings sixpence of an apprentice when he was first presented, nor more than three shillings four pence, when he claimed the freedom of the craft.<sup>38</sup> This act seems to have been insufficient, for complaint was made in another statute that those who had served their terms were made to pay considerable sums of money before setting up shop "by reason whereof the said prentices and journeymen be put to asmuche or more charges thereby than they before tyme were putt unto for the obteyning and entryng of their fredame." The gilds were therefore forbidden to exact sums of money of apprentices and journeymen or to impose oaths on them not to set

<sup>34</sup> Levasseur, vol. I, p. 571.

<sup>35</sup> Fagniez, Documents, vol. II, p. 196; Ibid. p. 119, Usages de la grande boucherie de Paris, 1381. "Item, nul ne peut estre bouchier de la grant boucherie de Paris ne faire fait de bouchier ne de boucherie, se il n'est filz de boucher de ycelle boucherie."; Ibid. p. 293; Levasseur, vol. I, p. 571 "Cette exclusion, qui commençait déjà à se produire au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, tendait à devenir plus fréquente au XIV<sup>e</sup>."

<sup>36</sup> Clode, Early History of the Merchant Taylors, vol. I, p. 351; Clothworkers' Ordinances, 1531-2, p. 26; Unwin, Industrial Organization, p. 231. Extracts from the Clothworkers' Court Book; Young, Barber-Surgeons, p. 177, Ordinances of 1557.

<sup>37</sup> Fox, F. F., Weavers of Bristol, p. 45.

<sup>38</sup> 22 Hen. VIII, c. 4.

up shop after their years were up.<sup>39</sup> But while the act may have mitigated, it certainly did not remedy the practice entirely.

The requirements varied considerably in different towns and different guilds. For example a rule of the Merchant Adventurers of Newcastle forbade a man to take an apprentice till he had been married a year.<sup>40</sup> The Tailors of Doncaster insisted that a master be twenty-four years of age or above "or maryed and dwellinge with his wyfe in this towne."<sup>41</sup> Some of the London companies in the seventeenth century provided that after apprentices came out of their terms they should serve three or four years as journeymen before setting up shop.<sup>42</sup> The Carlisle guilds interposed other obstacles, the chief one being the prohibition against the taking of apprentices by unmarried men.<sup>43</sup> In Chester "the fine imposed upon new masters by the Shoemakers' Company.... in 1609 seems to have varied from £8 to £12, in addition to an expenditure of from £2 to £5 on a dinner and a drinking."<sup>44</sup>

Such a fee as that charged by the Shoemakers of Chester cannot compare, however, with some of the premiums required of apprentices on being bound. Smythe says that in the Girdlers' guild of London as much as 240, 260 and even 420 pounds were given to masters in several instances as "consideration,"<sup>45</sup> and Stow affirms that while in King James the First's time 20, 40, 60 and even 100 pounds were given to bind a youth apprentice, yet in later days 500, 600 or 800 pounds were sometimes paid.<sup>46</sup> For youths whose parents could afford such premiums as these, the fees for the attainment of guild freedom must have seemed comparatively trifling.

The investigator must remember also that the fees for those who had been duly apprenticed to a craft were usually consid-

<sup>39</sup> 28 Hen. VIII, c. 5.

<sup>40</sup> Merchant Adventurers of Newcastle, vol. I, p. 10.

<sup>41</sup> Doncaster Records, vol. IV, p. 31.

<sup>42</sup> Young, Barber-Surgeons, p. 119; Jupp and Pocock, Carpenters, p. 423; Atkins and Overall, Clockmakers.

<sup>43</sup> Ferguson and Nanson, Municipal Records of Carlisle, p. 153, Ordinances of the Tailors' Guild, 1652; Ibid. p. 129, Ordinances of the Weavers' Guild; Ibid. p. 215, Ordinances of the Glovers' Guild, 1665.

<sup>44</sup> Unwin, Industrial Organization, p. 62.

<sup>45</sup> Smythe, Girdlers, p. 63.

<sup>46</sup> Strype's Stow, vol. 2, p. 432.



erably smaller than the fees for those who wished to enter the same craft by redemption.<sup>47</sup>

Among the gild requirements serving to prevent journeymen from becoming masters one might expect to find the "chef-d'oeuvre" or "masterpiece" occupying a conspicuous place in England, as on the continent. There is little or no evidence of such a requirement, however, before the latter half of the sixteenth century, and only a few instances of it before the seventeenth century.<sup>48</sup> "Testwork" of one sort or another did indeed exist long before the seventeenth century, but such testwork was very different in character from the chef d'oeuvre of the French corporations. It is doubtful whether the requirement that a journeyman construct an elaborate and costly work of art before he could become a master, ever became at all general in England.

Take it all in all, the artificial obstacles preventing an apprentice from setting up as a master after completing his term were comparatively small,<sup>49</sup> save in the case of a few companies, and these principally in London. Lambert, writing of the gilds of Hull, says, "There is nothing in any of these ordinances which puts any difficulty in the way of an apprentice or journeyman becoming a master and employer. There would be the natural advantages of wealth and position, but no more."<sup>50</sup> Roughly speaking, it is probable that the English journeyman was not expected to become a master till he was of reasonable age, had become a householder, married and settled down. He was then in a position to take apprentices of his own. Not the

<sup>47</sup> Harris, *Coventry Leet Book*, part II, p. 574; Conder, E. *Masons*, p. 163; Clode, *Memorials*, p. 522; Markham and Cox, *Northampton*, vol. 2, p. 280; Devlin J., *Helps to Hereford History*, p. 23; Kemp, *Black Book of Warwick*, *Passim*, etc.

<sup>48</sup> Dunlop, O. J., *English Apprenticeship and Child Labour*, chapter XIII (pp. 213-222); Miss Dunlop holds that the masterpiece was required in Bristol in 1401, but her evidence is not convincing. "In some gilds, although the word 'testwork' is not used, it is apparent that a definite masterpiece had to be performed. This was certainly so at Bristol among the Merchant Tailors, whose rule in 1401 was that no one was to be made free of the craft until he was tried by four lawful workmen, appointed by the Master, to see if he were skillful, and also if he were of good conversation and living." p. 214. This implies an examination, not the production of a chef d'oeuvre.

<sup>49</sup> Kemp, *Black Book of Warwick*, pp. 22, 80; 5 Eliz. c. 4, sec. 26; *Doncaster Records*, vol. IV, p. 17; *Ibid*, p. 31.

<sup>50</sup> Lambert, *Two Thousands Years of Gild Life*, pp. 190, 191.

gild ordinances prevented him from doing this, save in the case of a few companies, but lack of sufficient capital. As time went on more and more capital was needed for "occupying," so that the journeyman class constantly increased in numbers. Yet it was still perfectly possible in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for apprentices in many gilds to set up as masters immediately upon completing their terms.

From what has been said, it appears that for some centuries the English journeyman was not necessarily a graduated apprentice; apparently he was at first merely a day laborer. Even in London the gilds do not seem to have begun to insist on a preliminary apprenticeship for this class of workers till toward the end of the fourteenth century, and in some other places the requirement developed much later. So that even in the middle of the sixteenth century there seem to have been journeymen who had not served a seven-years' apprenticeship. But the Statute of Artificers established the requirement for the whole realm by providing that in future no master craftsman should set any man, who had not completed a full apprenticeship, at work at his trade.

Journeymanship was much more of an institution under the French than under the English gild system during the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The English corporations apparently did little at this time to hinder the apprentice from setting up as a master when his term was over. In France, on the other hand, one ingenious requirement after another was devised to prolong the journeyman stage. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the obstacles to the attainment of the master's position were increased by some, though not by all, of the English gilds. The requirement of the *chef-d'oeuvre*, for example, was developed, though it probably never became of great importance. In France the *chef d'oeuvre* is met with as early as the thirteenth century.

If the obstacles to the attainment of the master's position were greater and the period of journeymanship longer in France than in England, it must be remembered, on the other hand, that the term of apprenticeship was usually longer in England.<sup>51</sup> In both countries the power of capital operated to make it increasingly difficult for the handicraft worker to set up shop for himself.

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<sup>51</sup> Brentano, *History and Development of Gilds*, p. 65.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE STATUTE OF ARTIFICERS (5 ELIZ. C. 4.)

#### SECTION I.

#### ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Writing of the Statute of Artificers, Unwin says, "The idea of a national economy finds in this great piece of Elizabethan legislation its most notable expression."<sup>1</sup> For the act is not merely an attempt to regulate apprenticeship, the wages of laborers and hours of work, nor is it intended simply to bolster up the interests of any one class of persons or any one institution such as the craft gild, but it is intimately connected with some of the greater economic problems of the time. Tawney says that the provisions of this law which deal with the assessment of wages must be related "to the Poor Laws, to the attempts made to check enclosures and to prevent evictions, to the fixing of prices and the limitation of the rate of interest."<sup>2</sup> Similarly, the apprenticeship clauses are bound up with those changes summed up under the title "agrarian revolution," with questions of poor relief and unemployment, with the domestic or commission system of manufacture, and with questions of the welfare of the towns.

The significant fact of the agrarian movement of the sixteenth century was the change from tillage to pasture farming. With the development of the textile industries came an increased demand for wool, so that many landlords found it more profitable to use their land for sheep-raising than for agriculture. The fall in the value of money and other causes accentuated this tendency. The change to pasture farming might or might not be accompanied by enclosure, while on the other hand there was a considerable amount of enclosing, especially by the

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<sup>1</sup> Industrial Organization, p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> The Assessment of Wages in England by the Justices of the Peace. Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Vol. XI, Part 3, p. 311.



tenants themselves, unaccompanied by any change to pasture farming. The tendency to enclose for grazing purposes was sufficient, however, to characterize this as the prominent feature of the movement. Hence the contemporary criticism of, and opposition to, enclosures.<sup>3</sup>

The conversion from arable to grazing land had a number of important results. Among other things it was accompanied by the destruction of farmhouses and the eviction of tenants. Landlords wanted for their sheep and cattle the land cultivated by these men; and as fewer laborers were required in pasture farming than in agriculture, the tenants, evicted by more or less questionable means, found difficulty in obtaining employment. Gay estimates that from 30,000 to 50,000 persons were displaced by the agrarian revolution. Some of these unfortunates swooped down on villages less affected by the change to pasture farming, others drifted to the towns. Some found occupation in the rising domestic industries in town or country;<sup>4</sup> others joined the army of "rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars," for whom there was no place in the economic scheme and who were treated as criminal offenders.

The migration from the rural districts to the towns excited the wrath of the gild and municipal authorities who found difficulty in maintaining their exclusive privileges against the onslaught of the newcomers, who "overcrowded town dwellings and violated professional bylaws"<sup>5</sup> "O, merciful Lord!" says a preacher of that day, "What a number of poor, feeble, halt, blind, lame, sickly, yea with idle vagabonds, and dissembling caitiffs mixed among them, lie and creep begging in the miry streets of London and Westminster. It is a common custom with covetous landlords to let their housing so decay, that the farmer shall be fain, for a small regard or none at all, to give up his lease; that they, taking the ground unto their own hands, may turn all to pastures. So now, old fathers, poor widows, and young children, lie begging in the miry streets.'" <sup>6</sup>

In the country agrarian discontent resulted in riot and revolt. In parts of England peasants marched about tearing down

<sup>3</sup> Tawney, *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 165, 216, 228, 310 and *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> Ashley, *Economic History and Theory*, Book II, p. 223.

<sup>5</sup> Tawney, *Agrarian Problem*, pp. 3-4; *Ibid.* p. 275.

<sup>6</sup> Burghley's *Memoirs* (Nares, ed.) vol. I, p. 504; Page, Wm. (ed.) *Victoria County Histories*, Nottinghamshire, vol. II, p. 282.

hedges, to the discomfiture of angry justices and gentry. The rebellion under Ket in Norfolk in 1549 ended in a battle and the execution of Ket himself.<sup>7</sup>

Generally speaking, the Government during the sixteenth century was distinctly disposed to protect the peasantry against the agrarian changes which were taking place.<sup>8</sup> Beginning with an act of 1489<sup>9</sup> a series of laws was passed against enclosure and depopulation.<sup>10</sup> Tawney gives a number of reasons why the state felt it to be to its interest to protect husbandry and the peasant class.<sup>11</sup> In the first place, such protection seemed to be necessary to the maintenance of order, since peasant revolts were frequent and the "agrarian discontent created a permanent supply of inflammable material, which a spark might turn into a conflagration."<sup>12</sup> The favor of the peasants once secured by the Government, also, they might be used to counteract the power of disaffected nobles.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, the military effectiveness of the nation was dependent, in large measure, on the welfare of the peasant class, and the peasants were the taxpayers of the realm. Finally the encroachments of landlords were opposed in the interests of morality.

It seems rather curious when one thinks of the number of rogues and vagabonds, of whom sixteenth century laws and literature complain, that there should have been any dearth of agricultural labor.<sup>14</sup> Perhaps the authorities were not so far wrong after all in imputing a certain amount of unemployment to wilful idleness; then, as now, there were those who could

<sup>7</sup> Tawney, *Agrarian Problem*, p. 331.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 317.

<sup>9</sup> 4 Henry VII, c. 19.

<sup>10</sup> Between 1489 and 1656 "lies a series of seven Royal Commissions, twelve Statutes, and a considerable number of Proclamations dealing with one aspect or another of the enclosing movement." Tawney, *op. cit.* p. 315.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 313-351.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 317.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 340.

<sup>14</sup> In a recent article Tawney makes some explanation of the scarcity of wage labor, which he considers to be one of the two fundamental facts in the social structure of the sixteenth century. Among other things he says that "there was nearly always the possibility of turning from employment with a master to some sort of rough subsistence farming." *Assessment of Wages* (Schluss) *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial und Wirthschaftsgeschichte*, Vol. XI, part 4, 540. (The second part of Tawney's article, in which he discusses this matter, came to hand after I had written the above section.)

work but preferred to tramp. At any rate, landlords found it difficult to secure labor at such wages as they were willing to pay. Had they been able to obtain agricultural workers at lower rates there would probably have been less conversion of arable land to pasture. Tawney points out that the Rolls of Parliament of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are full of complaints, "that masters who refuse to pay more than the legal maximum find themselves without workmen."<sup>15</sup> Cecil, in certain "considerations" delivered to Parliament in 1559 says that "masters cannot get skillful servants to till the ground without unreasonable wages."<sup>16</sup>

The depreciation of money in the reign of Henry VIII increased the difficulties of agricultural employment; it meant, of course, that wages once sufficient for the maintenance of a laborer were now insufficient. There was, however, the usual and natural disinclination on the part of landlords to pay higher wages, and the usual and natural disinclination of the laborer to work at the old rates.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the domestic system was arising to the injury of the gild organization. The gild system implies a master working with a limited number of apprentices and one or two journeymen, himself engaging in or closely supervising, all processes of manufacture, keeping a shop from which to market his goods. The gild monopoly depended on control of the local market. With the growth of capital there arose a class of trading middlemen, who did not themselves manufacture goods, but who, in spite of gild regulations, found a market for goods manufactured by others. Thus the productive and distributive functions were separated. "It was the growth of trading capital" says Unwin "which, by separating the craftsmen from direct contact with the market, gave rise to those intermediate forms of industrial organization which have been grouped together under the name 'domestic system.'"<sup>17</sup> Essentially, this system implies manufacture by one class of persons and marketing by another. The middlemen might even supply materials and tools, and force workers,—who, having no capital and no means of marketing goods, were practically at their mercy,—to accept the most pit-

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<sup>15</sup> Tawney *Assessment of Wages*, *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, vol. XI, p. 325.

<sup>16</sup> *Hist. Mss. Comm. Cecil Mss. Part I*, pp. 162-163.

<sup>17</sup> Unwin, *Industrial Organization*, p. 25.



iable wages. The domestic system of the sixteenth century, therefore, resembles in some respects the sweating system of today.

The domestic industries developed both in town and country, and particularly in connection with the clothing crafts. In the towns, journeymen, unable to set up shop for themselves, took to working secretly in chambers, trusting to merchants to market their goods for them.<sup>18</sup> Persons were employed under the pretext of apprenticeship, by masters who gave them little or no real instruction in their crafts, but paying as little as possible for their maintenance, set them to manufacturing goods from which the merchants themselves hoped to reap large profits. All the evils of the modern sweat-shop are hinted at in the following account by a sixteenth century writer, "Before May day<sup>19</sup> pore handy craft peple, which that wer wont to kepe shoppes and servaunts and hadd labour levyng by makyng pyns poynts girdells glovis and all such other thyngs necessary for comon peple, hadd therof sale and profits daily, unto thirty yere agoo a sorte beganne to occupie to bye and selle soche handy-craft wares, callid haburdashers, otherwise callid hardware men, that a fourty yere agoo was not four or five shopes in London, wher now every stret is full of theym. Which sellith all fantasies and trifell, in distroyng all handy-craft, wherby many riche men is reson upon that distruction of the pore peple. Which before May day pore peple perceyvid theym self, havynge no lyvyng, and wer bownd prentissis in London, not able to kepe no howsis nor shops, but in allis sitting in a pore chamber, workyng all the weke to sell his ware on the Saturday brought it to the haburdashers to sell, to suche as use the sale therof, which wold not giff theym so moche wynnyng for theyr wares to fynde theyr mete and drynk, sayng: they hadd no nede therof, ther shoppes lay storydd full of byend see."<sup>20</sup>

While there was this development of domestic industries in the towns, there was also a tendency for manufacturers to desert the towns for the country and the suburbs. Where a handicraft worker could look to a middleman to sell his wares and was not dependent on a town market or fair, it was natural for him, in some occupations, to live in the country where his raw material was easily accessible. In Norfolk, for example "where

<sup>18</sup> Unwin, *Industrial Organization*, p. 55.

<sup>19</sup> *Evil May-day*, April 30, 1517.

<sup>20</sup> Pauli, *Drei Volkswirtschaftliche Denkschriften*, p. 39.

manufactures and agriculture had drawn apart to an extent unknown elsewhere, a rough local division of labour was concentrating the woollen industry in that part of the country most suitable for grazing, and was bringing together a huge population of wage-earners."<sup>21</sup>

Other causes accentuated the tendency of artisans to desert the towns for the suburbs or the rural regions. The search for lower rents, according to Unwin, was the chief reason for the migration of the London felt hat-makers and workers in leather, across the Thames.<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, municipal regulations and craft rules, effective enough in preserving monopoly when the local market was in the hands of the gilds, were felt as a serious hindrance by unprivileged town artisans, who therefore chose to escape them by living in the country districts or the suburbs. Thus rural manufactures developed at the expense of town industries, in spite of the fact that a number of statutes were passed to protect the latter against rural competition.

It must not be supposed that the domestic industries in the rural regions drew entirely upon town artisans for their supply of labor. Husbandmen and the children of husbandmen turned to this sort of work, as well as those who left the urban centres. But the migration to the country districts is sufficient to account, in some measure, for the complaints of the decay of boroughs in the period of which we write. The twenty-first section of the Act 4 and 5 Philip and Mary c. 5, illustrates the harm which the woollen industries in the country were supposed to be doing to the towns, as well as to agriculture.

"Item, Whereas divers ancient cities boroughs and towns corporate within this realm of England have been in times past well and substantially inhabited—as well by reason of making of broad woollen cloth and kersies, as also by divers other artificers inhabiting then in the said towns, at which time also the villages and husband towns flourished and husbandry and tillage was well maintained to the great benefit of the realm and the people therein. Forasmuch as divers years past, such persons as do use the feat or mystery of clothmaking, not contented to live as artificers, and with the trade wherein they have been brought up, do daily plant themselves in villages and towns, being no cities, boroughs nor corporate towns, and there occupy-

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<sup>21</sup> Tawney, *Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 111.

<sup>22</sup> Unwin, *Industrial Organization*, p. 128.

ing the seat and place of a husbandman, do not only engross divers farms and pastures unto their hands, displeasing the husbandman, and decaying the ploughs and tillage, but also draw with them out of the cities, boroughs and towns corporate, all sorts of artificers, whereby not only divers ancient cities, boroughs and towns corporate are utterly decayed, destroyed and depopulated, but also husbandry and tillages very much decayed, to the great hurt, damage and prejudice of this realm and the people therein, if speedy remedy be not foreseen. And the weavers and workmen of clothiers when they have been trained up in the trade of cloth-making and weaving three or four years, do forsake their masters and do become clothiers and occupiers for themselves, without stock, skill or knowledge, to the great slander of the true cloth-making, besides a great number of inconveniences, which do grow to the commonwealth of the realm thereby, as daily experience teacheth."

The decay of towns, like the decay of tillage, was bemoaned by contemporary writers<sup>23</sup> and town historians,<sup>24</sup> and became the subject of remedial legislation.<sup>25</sup> There is evidence that even in Elizabeth's reign some of the towns were in weak condition.

These problems, then, arising from great economic changes, confronted Elizabeth and her statesmen at the opening of her reign, and formed the background for the Statute of Artificers. With the rise of trading capital, the development of the textile industries and other changes, the old guild system of production and guild control of the local market began to be undermined by the domestic system. Town manufactures were losing their pristine strength and industry was moving into the country. The increasing demand for wool and the fall in money values accentuated the change from tillage to pasture farming; landlords, who would fain cling to the cultivation of the soil complained that they could not get laborers at reasonable wages, and found that sheep-raising was likely to be more profitable than tillage. The eviction of tenants consequent on the movement to pasture farming, the general disorganization resulting

<sup>23</sup> Discourse of the Commonweal; Pauli, *Drei Volkswirtschaftliche Denkschriften*; Starkey, *Dialogue*, etc.

<sup>24</sup> Davies, *Southampton*, p. 271; Hudson and Tingey, *Norwich*, vol. II, p. LXX; Morris, *Chester*, p. 75; Sellers, *York in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, *Eng. Hist. Rev.* Vol. ix, p. 296; etc.

<sup>25</sup> For example 27 Hen. VIII, C. I; 32 Hen. VIII, C. 18; 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, C. 12; 4 and 5 Philip and Mary, C. 5.



from such measures as the debasement of the coinage, the dissolution of the monasteries, and other contributing causes, created a drifting population, part of which found employment in the domestic industries of town or country, while part was reduced to vagabondage and beggary, "lieing creeping about the streets" in the towns, or wandering about the countryside and sometimes breaking into open riot. The state, alarmed at these developments which it was inclined to attribute to individual wickedness, such as the covetousness of landlords or the stubbornness of idle rogues, seeing the injury to its fighters and taxpayers, was disposed to protect them, but in its bewilderment hardly knew where to turn for relief. The Statute of Artificers, then, is an important instance of those measures, not, indeed, based on a deep or true knowledge of political economy, taken by Elizabethan statesmen to right what they conceived to be the economic evils of the time.

## SECTION II.

### THE PURPOSES OF THE STATUTE OF ARTIFICERS.

The act of fifth Elizabeth, in its preamble, proposes to "banishe idlenes advance Husbandrye and yeelde unto the hired person bothe in the tyme of scarsitee and in the tyme of plentye a convenient proporcon of Wages." This Utopian aim was to be carried out by somewhat impractical methods. The assessment of wages was to be in the hands of justices of the peace who were to confer together in time of plenty or scarcity and determine the amount of pay fitting for various classes of workmen. The justices were not likely to err on the side of high wages. The clauses providing for an apprenticeship of seven years in the crafts, aimed to foster industrial skill; the seven-year term which had prevailed in many localities was made general for the realm. Finally, all able-bodied workers were assigned to those occupations for which they seemed to be best fitted.

These are some of the more obvious purposes of the act, but there are others which at first sight are not so clear. The relation of the law to pauperism, to the domestic system, to ag-

riculture and to urban life must be considered in greater detail.

Miss Dunlop has pointed out the connection between the statute and the system of poor relief,<sup>26</sup> and I shall therefore mention here only one or two aspects of that relationship. Parliament proposed to deal with the able-bodied poor not by giving them alms but by forcing them to work. Hence, as has just been said, it appointed a place for everyone in the economic scheme, and through the apprenticeship clauses of the act even provided for children. Next it aimed to make employment stable by providing long terms for apprentices, by compelling servants in certain employments to work for not less than a year,<sup>27</sup> and by ordering persons between twelve and sixty, not otherwise employed, to be servants in husbandry.<sup>28</sup> Servants were ordered not to leave their places of employment without procuring from certain officials testimonials giving them permission to do so,<sup>29</sup> and if they went to new places and failed to produce such testimonials, they might be imprisoned and later flogged.<sup>30</sup> Youths who refused to serve as apprentices in husbandry or the arts might be imprisoned till they complied.<sup>31</sup> Under such a law there was no place for roving beggars in town or countryside.

Other clauses show the tendency to restrict the development of the domestic system in town and country. The nineteenth section provided that every householder, twenty-four years of age or over, dwelling in a city or town corporate and exercising a craft there, may "during the time that he shall so dwell or inhabite in any such Citie or Towne Corporate" and exercise his art there, take as apprentice the son of any freeman "not occupieing Husbandrye nor being a labourer," to be bound to him as an apprentice and to serve him for seven years at least, after the custom of the city of London. Section 21 made a similar provision for market towns. These two clauses seem to limit the requirement of a seven years' term of apprenticeship to cities, towns corporate and market towns, and the act has usually been thus interpreted.<sup>32</sup> Apparently it would still be

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<sup>26</sup> Dunlop and Denman, *English Apprenticeship and Child Labour*, pp. 61 ff.

<sup>27</sup> Section 2.

<sup>28</sup> Section 5.

<sup>29</sup> Section 7.

<sup>30</sup> Section 11.

<sup>31</sup> Section 28.

in the power of capitalists to employ in the country or the suburbs artisans who had never served seven-year terms.

The twenty-fourth clause, however, directly provided that no one should exercise any craft "nowe used or occupied within the Realme of Englande or Wales" unless he had served an apprenticeship of seven years; nor might any man employ any workman,<sup>33</sup> "in such misterye Arte or Occupacon," unless such workman were an apprentice or one who had served a regular apprenticeship. The three clauses (19, 21 and 24) taken in conjunction with one another indicate several things: 1. That no one was to exercise any existing trade, either as master or workman, unless he had served an apprenticeship thereto for seven years. 2. That with certain exceptions noted in other clauses of the act,<sup>34</sup> only householders in corporate or market towns might take apprentices. 3. That, save in certain cases, only the sons of freemen of the towns were to be apprentices and of those only the sons of those freemen who were neither husbandmen nor laborers. The conclusion is inevitable—in most of England and in most trades, rural artificers and artificers in small towns or villages, were not to be allowed to take apprentices.<sup>35</sup>

Thus a blow was struck at the rural domestic industries, for no longer could lads be apprenticed to them, save for the exceptions specified in the act, no longer could farmers, unless they had served apprenticeships in the towns, supplement their gains from agriculture by working at the clothing crafts.<sup>36</sup> Capitalists could still employ in the country journeymen who had served full terms in the towns, but the supply would be comparatively limited and they could not legally go into the country districts and set to work untrained or partially trained artisans. The greater part of English manufactures was to be confined to the towns.

For half a century before the passage of the Statute of Artificers sporadic efforts had been made by the government to

<sup>32</sup> Ventris 51; 1 Mod. 26; 2 Keb. 583; 1 Blackstone, 527; Buller, Nisi Prius, 192-3.

<sup>33</sup> Workmen "at this day" excepted.

<sup>34</sup> Especially clauses 23 and 25.

<sup>35</sup> This general conclusion is borne out by the exception made of the town of Godalming, whose inhabitants might take apprentices and servants in the same manner and form as the inhabitants of market towns. (Section 27.)

<sup>36</sup> Again with certain exceptions, to be noted later.



insist on the seven-year apprenticeship and to stem the growth of rural manufactures. In 1513 artificers were forbidden to "wet calendre" worsteds unless previously apprenticed to the art of wet-calendering for seven years or else proved to be sufficiently skilled therein.<sup>37</sup> In 1523 it was forbidden anyone to weave worsteds in Great Yarmouth unless he had been previously apprenticed.<sup>38</sup> In Edward VI's reign a law was passed that journeymen in the clothing crafts should not be hired for less than a quarter of a year.<sup>39</sup> Under the same king a seven years' apprenticeship was made compulsory for the makers of felts and hats<sup>40</sup> and a similar requirement was laid down for weavers of "brode Wollen Clothe." In regard to the hat-makers the complaint was that they had withdrawn to certain towns near Norwich to make hats without control. In Mary's reign the requirement in regard to the cloth weavers was repealed. A seven years' apprenticeship was considered unnecessary, provided the cloths were substantially made.<sup>41</sup> By a statute of Philip and Mary, persons dwelling in the country were prohibited from selling by retail certain wares within the towns unless "they or any of them shall be free of any of the Gildes and Liberties of any of the said Cities, Boroughs, Townes Corporate or Market Townes."<sup>42</sup> The following year it was provided that no one should be a weaver without having served a seven year's apprenticeship, save in the northern counties where old customs were allowed to continue.<sup>43</sup> More important than any of these acts is the Statute 4 and 5 Philip and Mary, C. 5, the evident intention of which was to restrict the cloth industry to the towns. No one was to make cloth for sale save in a market town where cloth had commonly been made for ten years past. No one save those now actually engaged in the work should weave cloth unless apprenticed or exercised therein for seven years. These statutes indicate the inability of craft gilds and boroughs to cope with the economic developments which were building up rural industries.

Bills brought before the House of Commons, from 1550 on, show the same desire on the part of the government to check

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<sup>37</sup> 5 Henry VIII. C. 4

<sup>38</sup> 14 and 15 Henry VIII, C. 3.

<sup>39</sup> 3 and 4 Edw. VI, C. 22.

<sup>40</sup> 5 and 6 Edw. VI, C. 24.

<sup>41</sup> 1 Mary St. 3. C. 7.

<sup>42</sup> 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, C. 7.

<sup>43</sup> 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, C. 11.

the development of manufactures in the country. In 1550 there was a "Bill for Apprentices," in 1552, a "Bill for divers Handicraftsmen to dwell in Corporate towns," in 1553 a bill "For Artificers to dwell in Cities and Towns Corporate" and in the first year of Mary's reign bills "For certain Artificers to dwell in towns" and "For divers persons not to sell mercery, grocery or Haberdashe wares by retail in towns, not dwelling there."<sup>44</sup> All this legislation and attempted legislation shows how seriously the government was considering the problem of rural industries. No firm national policy in the matter, however, was adopted during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward or Mary.

A considerable number of the country trades, however, were not bound by the apprenticeship restrictions of the Statute of Artificers. Apprenticeships in the country were allowable in certain industries, chiefly those in which but a small amount of skill was required. Any person exercising "Tharte or Occupation of a Smithe Wheelwright Plowghright Myllwright Carpenter Roughe Mason Playsterer Sawyer Lymeburner Bricklayer Tyler Slater Healyer Tilemaker Lynneweaver Turner Cowper Millers Earthenpotters Wollen weaver weaving Housewiefs or Householde Clothe onely and none other Clothe Fuller otherwise called Tucker or Walker Burner of Oore and Woade Ashes Thatcher or Shingler" wheresoever he might dwell, might take as apprentice the son of any person.<sup>45</sup> It is evident that these occupations, to which country lads might be bound apprentices, were chiefly of the cruder sort.

The clause just quoted exempted linen weavers and certain classes of woollen weavers and fullers from the necessity of living in towns in order to take apprentices. Other concessions, also were made to the cloth industries, in which industries the change from a handicraft to a capitalistic basis had proceeded farthest. The act was not to interfere with "any Lyberties heretofore granted by any Act of Parliament" to the company of worsted makers and worsted weavers of Norwich and elsewhere in the county of Norfolk.<sup>46</sup> The inhabitants of the town of Godalming, a centre of cloth manufacture, were allowed to take apprentices and servants in the same manner and form as the inhabitants of market towns.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Commons Journals. vol. I, pp. 15-48.

<sup>45</sup> Section 23.

<sup>46</sup> Section 27.

<sup>47</sup> Section 36.

On the other hand there is evident the intention of restricting the development of the rural domestic system by limiting the number of juvenile workers in the clothing crafts. No woollen cloth weaver "other than suche as bee inhabiting within the counties of Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancaster and Wales, weaving friezes, cottons or huswives cloth only making and weaving woollen cloth, commonly sold or to be sold by any clothman or clothier" might take any apprentice in any village or other place (cities, towns corporate and market towns excepted) unless such apprentice were his son or the son of parents having freehold of £ 3 per annum.<sup>48</sup> Thus clothweaving in the country, though allowed a free hand in certain counties was to be checked in its growth by the attachment of a property qualification to apprenticeship.

But while the statute tended to hold back rural manufactures it did not by any means permit an unchecked development of the domestic industries in the towns.

The tendency of the domestic system is toward the employment by an entrepreneur, of a large number of workers in their own homes "or in larger domestic workshops under small masters."<sup>49</sup> The very fact that all artisans were now to go through an apprenticeship of seven years would diminish the supply of workers available. But to prevent masters from evading the law by apprenticing large numbers of "pore handycraft peple" it was provided that in the clothing crafts a person having three apprentices must employ one journeyman "and for every other apprentice above the number of the said three apprentices, one other journeyman."<sup>50</sup> Not only so, but no "merchant trafficking or trading into the parts beyond the seas, mercer, draper, goldsmith, ironmonger, embroiderer, or clothier, that doth or shall put cloth to making and sale" was to take any apprentice save his own son or the son of parents worth 40 shillings a year.<sup>51</sup> Another clause forbade merchants in market towns to take apprentices, unless parents or guardians were possessed of freehold worth £ 3 per annum.<sup>52</sup> The tendency of these clauses would be to do away with the exploitation of juvenile workers by trading employers.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Section 25.

<sup>49</sup> Unwin, *Industrial Organization* p. 6.

<sup>50</sup> Section 26.

<sup>51</sup> Section 20.

<sup>52</sup> Section 22.

<sup>53</sup> The breeding of so many merchants in London, rison owt of

Nothing in the act was to interfere with the customs of London or Norwich.<sup>54</sup> In spite of this and the other exceptions mentioned, however, it is evident that, provided the statute were enforced, the domestic system would find it difficult to develop further in some parts of England, to exist at all in others.

Broad and comprehensive in its character, the Statute of Artificers aimed also to promote agriculture. It is stated in the preamble that one purpose of the act was to "advance Husbandrye." The fifth clause provided that persons between the ages of twelve and sixty not engaged in certain specified occupations, might be compelled to be yearly servants in husbandry. The law ruled also that artificers and other persons "meete to labour" might be compelled to work in harvest.<sup>55</sup> The apprenticeship system was brought to the rescue of tillage by the clauses allowing householders "using half a Ploughelande at the least in Tillage" to force children, not engaged in specified occupations to become apprentices at husbandry.<sup>56</sup> These clauses taken with that which placed the assessment of wages in the hands of the justice of the peace,<sup>57</sup> evidently aimed to foster agriculture by providing a sufficient number of laborers.<sup>58</sup> This purpose will be brought out still more clearly after we have considered the relation of the law to the question of the decay of towns.

Miss Dunlop states that apprenticeship, as provided for in the Statute of Artificers and the Poor Law of 1601 "was used by the Government as a means both to maintain the rural population and to resuscitate the waning prosperity of corporate

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pore mens sonnes, hath ben a mervelous distruction to the holl reame, wher first worshipfull men bownd ther yong children to be merchaunts in London, unto so many were bownd prentisses, that ther masters wold never giff theym no wages, after they cam owt of ther termes." Pauli, op. cit. p. 33.

<sup>54</sup> Section 33.

<sup>55</sup> Section 15.

<sup>56</sup> Section 18 and 28.

<sup>57</sup> Section 11.

<sup>58</sup> Of the assessments of wages by justices of the peace, Tawney says; "The system had been originally introduced, and had been re-enacted in 1563, in order to protect not the wage-earners but the wage-payers, and though this object was not incompatible with occasional attempts by the Privy Council to use the Act to fix in certain industries a minimum, there is no reason whatever to suppose that the policy of fixing a maximum wage was other than highly popular with the employers of agricultural labour." Tawney, *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial-und Wirtschaftsgesch.*, Vol. XI, p. 331.



towns."<sup>59</sup> Cunningham says that "so far as we can judge. . . . one of the pressing difficulties, which occasioned the introduction of the measure, was the continued decay of corporate towns."<sup>60</sup>

Doubtless it was the purpose of the act to confine a large part of English manufactures to "cities, boroughs, towns corporate and market towns." But it may be questioned whether it was specifically intended to remedy the decay of these places. Tawney holds that "the growth of the towns was dependent on the saving of labour from agriculture."<sup>61</sup> Unwin says that from the middle of the sixteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth, measures were taken to arrest the decay of towns by "utilizing the labour of the increasing class of dependent poor" to meet "the competition of cheap country labour."<sup>62</sup> An act of Henry VII's reign<sup>63</sup> states that "the Citie of Norwich which is an ancient Citie is greatly decaied," attributes this to the statute 7 Henry IV C. 17, which attached a property qualification to apprenticeship, and provides that this qualification be removed, as far as Norwich is concerned.

The Statute of Artificers, on the contrary, distinctly limited the supply of labor in the towns, by clauses to which reference has already been made. No one could be an apprentice to a merchant unless his parents or guardians were possessed of a certain amount of property. A master in any one of certain specified trades must employ one journeyman if he had three apprentices, and for every other apprentice another journeyman. Such clauses certainly tended to restrict the supply of cheap labor that might be used in urban industries and so tended to limit the growth of towns.

More important than these restrictions, however, are the clauses limiting the right to take apprentices to householders in the towns, and the right to be apprentices in the majority of occupations, to the sons of freemen of the municipalities who were neither laborers nor husbandmen.

Residents of the rural districts were thus prevented from engaging in urban industries; no longer could they migrate to the towns, serve apprenticeships, and set up in trade. They

<sup>59</sup> Dunlop and Denman. *English Apprenticeship*, p. 62.

<sup>60</sup> *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, *Modern Times*, p. 28.

<sup>61</sup> Tawney, *Agrarian Problem*, p. 179.

<sup>62</sup> Unwin, *Industrial Organization*, p. 93.

<sup>63</sup> 11 Hen. VII. C. 11.

were compelled to seek their living in the country. If the growth of towns, then, was dependent on saving labor from agriculture the act of Elizabeth was not calculated to foster such growth.

Over against the fact that the rural artificer could no longer offer to train apprentices in less time than the urban artisan,<sup>64</sup> must be set the fact that the development of the domestic system in the towns was restricted and the fact that country youths were virtually forbidden urban apprenticeship in most trades. Very likely there was a general hope on the part of the statesmen who constructed the act of Elizabeth that by restricting a large part of England's manufactures to the towns, their prosperity would be furthered; but that the statute specifically aimed at the regeneration of the municipalities cannot be said to have been proved.

Not only was the country lad cut off from employment in the town manufactures; he was also forbidden access to any but the cruder crafts in the suburbs and the rural districts,—and, in certain regions, to cloth manufacture. Even apprenticeship in the clothing crafts was, outside of certain counties, limited by a property qualification. Where, then, was he to get his living? Presumably, from agricultural pursuits.

In 1559 Cecil proposed certain restrictions on apprenticeship, to which reference has already been made.

"None to be received apprentice except his father spend 40 s. a year of freehold nor to be apprenticed to a merchant except his father spend 10*l* a year of freehold, or be descended from a gentleman or merchant. Through the idleness of those professions so many embrace them that they are only a cloak for vagabonds and thieves, and there is such a decay of husbandry that masters cannot get skillful servants to till the ground without unreasonable wages."<sup>65</sup> Hewins has offered evidence tending to show that Cecil was closely concerned in the passage of the Statute of Artificers.<sup>66</sup> It is therefore interesting to note from the foregoing passage that Cecil desired to restrict apprenticeship in order to further husbandry. The many statutes passed by Parliament to foster agriculture and to hinder the tendency to pasture farming, the importance attached by the

<sup>64</sup> Cunningham. *op. cit.*, p. 30.

<sup>65</sup> Hist. Mss. Comm. Cecil Mss., Part I, pp. 162, 163.

<sup>66</sup> Hewins, *The Regulation of Wages by the Justices of the Peace*. Economic Journal, Vol. VIII, p. 342.

state to the yeoman class, the clauses in the Statute of Artificers itself relating to husbandry, the restrictions placed on apprenticeship in the towns and country, the scarcity of agricultural labor, the views of Cecil just expressed, all go to show that one great purpose of the act—probably the most important purpose of all—was to “advance husbandry.” Cut off from municipal trades by the fact that he must be the son of a freeman of a city, borough, town corporate or market town in order to engage in one, cut off from most rural trades by the fact that he must serve a seven years’ apprenticeship in order to occupy as a master and that such apprenticeship was confined to the sons of freemen in the towns, the natural tendency of the country lad would be to turn to agriculture. This natural tendency would be distinctly accentuated by the heavy punishments attached to idleness and vagabondage, and by the clauses compelling persons not engaged in other specified occupations to become servants or apprentices in husbandry. Compelled to work at husbandry, he was forced also to accept wages assessed for him by the justices of the peace, and presumably these wages would be made low enough to encourage landlords to keep their land under the plough instead of turning it to pasture.<sup>67</sup>

It seems therefore that it was the intention of the statesmen who drafted the law to divert to agriculture that class of labor which had heretofore been engaged in the domestic industries.

Clearly, then, the Statute of Artificers is an act of even broader scope than has heretofore been recognized. It aimed to establish an equitable assessment of wages, to determine the just hours of labor, to provide for stable employment and to conserve a high standard of skill in the industrial arts by making general the requirement of a seven-years’ apprenticeship. But it did more than this. It tried to meet the problems of pauperism and vagabondage by assigning every able-bodied worker to that occupation for which he seemed best suited, and by making him work steadily at that occupation. It proposed to check the development of the domestic system in town and country and to confine the bulk of English manufacture to corporate and market towns. It is possible that the welfare of the towns was in the minds of the statesmen who drafted the act, but it must be admitted that they were more concerned

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<sup>67</sup> Section 13 of the Statute of Artificers provides penalties for giving or receiving higher wages than those assessed by the justices.

with the growth of tillage. By means of the apprenticeship system they limited the supply of labor in the towns, and virtually compelled country lads to turn to the cruder crafts—for which of course there was only a limited demand in the rural districts—or to agriculture. Unless engaged in specified pursuits dwellers in the country could be compelled to become apprentices or servants at husbandry. Their wages were to be assessed by justices of the peace and they were forbidden, under penalties, to take more than the maximum assessed. Presumably, then, a supply of cheap agricultural labor would be created and landholders would find tillage more profitable. So the Statute of Artificers takes its place with the measures taken against enclosures. Through the carrying out of these various purposes it was hoped to “banishe Idleness advance Husbandrye and yeelde unto the hired person bothe in the tyme of scarcitee and in the tyme of plentye a convenient proporcon of Wages.”



## CHAPTER IV.

### THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE STATUTE.

It is impossible here to give a full account of the enforcement of the Statute of Artificers. Miss Putnam's work on the Statutes of Laborers<sup>1</sup> shows how thorough and patient an investigation is necessary to the understanding of a single important law or set of laws; for her book, though a volume of some size, covers a period of but ten years. Such conclusions in regard to the administration of the act of Elizabeth as can at present be given are therefore necessarily limited, and, for the most part, tentative. In general, however, what Blackstone says of the Statute holds true:

"This law, with regard to the exclusive part of it, has by turns been looked upon as a hard law or as a beneficial one, according to the prevailing humor of the times: which has occasioned a great variety of resolutions in the courts of law concerning it; and attempts have frequently been made for its repeal, though hitherto without success."<sup>2</sup>

In her valuable chapters<sup>3</sup> dealing with the administration of the statute Miss Dunlop has virtually substantiated this opinion of Blackstone, but as she has not attempted to show whether the act was used to check the development of the domestic system, and as she has neglected almost entirely the use of law reports, there is room here for some slight change and suggestion.

During Elizabeth's reign the act was by no means regularly enforced.<sup>4</sup> Men did not cease to occupy more than one trade

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<sup>1</sup> Putnam, Bertha H., *The Enforcement of the Statutes of Labourers During the First Decade after the Black Death, 1349-1359*. Columbia Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Vol. 32, 1908.

<sup>2</sup> Blackstone, *Commentaries*, Edition of 1771, Vol. I, p. 427.

<sup>3</sup> Dunlop and Denman, *op. cit.*, Chapters IV, VI, VII, and XIV.

<sup>4</sup> Dunlop and Denman, *op. cit.*, pp. 73 ff.; Cal. S. P. D. Eliz. 1547-1580, p. 446, Vol. LXXXVIII, No. 11; *Ibid.*, p. 472, Vol. XCIII, No. 2; Unwin, *Industrial Organization*, pp. 140-141; A special act for the Cappers' Trade (8 Eliz. C. 11) similar to 5 Eliz. C. 4 in that it requires an apprenticeship of seven years is said to have been wholly neglected during Elizabeth's reign. I Jac. I, C. 17.

or to intermeddle in the trades of others.<sup>5</sup> There were, however, some prosecutions during this period.<sup>6</sup> One case, in particular, was carried to the Court of King's Bench where it was held that if one had served an apprenticeship of seven years to any trade named in the statute he might exercise any other trade named therein.<sup>7</sup> The case illustrates the tendency of the higher courts to give a broad interpretation to the law.

The fortunes of the act during the reign of James I seem to have been similar to what they were during much of Elizabeth's rule. There were some prosecutions,<sup>8</sup> and on the other hand, complaint of lax enforcement.<sup>9</sup> The most that can be said at present is that the statute was not entirely disregarded under the first Stuart.

"The Statute of Artificers seems to have been best administered," says Miss Dunlop "during the personal government of Charles I." Her evidence on this point, however, is decidedly inconclusive. "A cessation of complaints, coupled with a greater number of prosecutions at quarter sessions, indicates that Charles was successful in arousing the justices into activity sufficient to cope with lawbreakers."<sup>10</sup> There may, however, have been many complaints of which we have no record, and as for the number of prosecutions, the Extracts from the Hertford Sessions Rolls record more for the reign of Charles II<sup>11</sup> than for that of his father.<sup>12</sup> The number of prosecutions recorded in Hertford, however, would not settle the question of

<sup>5</sup> Hartshorne, Northampton, p. 57; Morris, Chester, pp. 403-4, Markham and Cox, Northampton, pp. 290-291.

<sup>6</sup> Nottingham Records, Vol. IV, pp. 50-55; Hertford Records, Extracts from Sessions Rolls, Vol. I., p. 26; *Ibid.*, p. 32; 5 *Nog.* 6.

<sup>7</sup> Leon 9. In information against one for exercising the trade of a Chandler, not having been apprenticed to the same for seven years, it was held that as he had been apprentice to a tailor seven years this was sufficient "for it was holden clearly upon the said statute, that if one hath been an apprentice for 7 years at any trade mentioned within the said statute, he may exercise any trade named in the said statute, although he hath not been an apprentice to it."

<sup>8</sup> Nottingham Records, Vol. IV, p. 324; Hertford Sessions Rolls, pp. 45, 59. These Rolls show no prosecutions between 1600-1 and 1618-19; 11 *Coke* 53, 54; 6 *Coke* 103; Hobart 183; Unwin, *Industrial Organization*, pp. 99, 199.

<sup>9</sup> *Hist. Mss. Comm.* 12th Rept., Vol. 4, 1888, p. 455.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 84.

<sup>11</sup> Hertford Sessions Rolls, pp. 133, 152, 155, 166, 171, 183, 184, 188, 194, 202, 252, 254, 255, 278, 294, 329.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 61, 65, etc.

the degree of enforcement one way or the other. Further evidence must be produced from the quarter-sessions records of other counties, and from other sources.

The king's courts, during the rule of Charles I, show a distinct tendency to override the apprenticeship clauses of the act. In the fourth year of his reign an indictment under 5 Eliz. C. 4 was quashed simply because it was not shown in the indictment that the occupation was a trade at the time of the passage of the statute.<sup>13</sup> In an action against a hemp-dresser, ten years later, verdict was found for the defendant, for all the court held that the trade was not within the statute since it required little learning or skill.<sup>14</sup> Apparently the law was meeting with little sympathy from the higher courts. It may be that later evidence will show that Miss Dunlop's "belief that during the personal government of Charles I the Act was more thoroughly enforced than it had hitherto been"<sup>15</sup> is correct, but her contention is at present but poorly substantiated.

Miss Dunlop offers ample proof that the statute was not properly administered during the Civil War,<sup>16</sup> but shows also that this collapse was but temporary and that the institution was slowly recovering during the period of the Commonwealth and the early years of the Restoration.<sup>17</sup> Apparently there was a certain amount of rigor in the execution of the law during the reigns of Charles II<sup>18</sup> and James II<sup>19</sup>. Even in the higher courts there are decisions showing a clear and strict enforcement. In the case of *Rex vs. Kilderby*, the defendant was indicted for using the trade of a woollen-draper, never having been apprenticed thereto. He pleaded that he was a citizen of London and might, by Henry III's charter, traffic freely anywhere without impediment. Yet judgment was rendered against him because the statute 5 Eliz. c. 4 took precedence over the charter.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Palmer, 528 "Car le Court ut Judges, ne poit prender cognizance, que cy, a le Statute est Trade a cest temps lawfully used."

<sup>14</sup> Cro. Car. 409.

<sup>15</sup> Op. cit. p. 86.

<sup>16</sup> Op. cit. pp. 102-106.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, p. 107.

<sup>18</sup> Hertford Sessions Rolls, Extracts, Vol. I, pp. 102-125 and pp. 133-329, *passim*.

<sup>19</sup> Nottingham Records, Vol. V, p. 331 (6 presentments in 1686); *Ibid*, p. 340 (1688); Hertford Sessions Rolls, Extracts, Vol. I, p. 373

<sup>20</sup> 1 Saund. 310, 21 Car. II.

The case of *Mostyn vs. Nightingale* is more striking, for the defendant, while admitting that he had not himself served an apprenticeship to the trade of pinmaking, yet claimed exemption on the ground that he employed none but pinmakers who had duly served their terms. In spite of this rather reasonable defence, verdict was rendered against him.<sup>21</sup> It is noticeable that at a later time (1809) a directly opposite verdict was rendered in a similar case.<sup>22</sup>

On the other hand, there is evident a growing impatience with the act on the part of the courts. An extract from the Privy Council Register, Oct. 29, 1669, says that most of the judges look upon the law as inconvenient to trade and to the increase of inventions.<sup>23</sup> It was decided in the twenty-first year of Charles II's reign that a seven years' apprenticeship was unnecessary to the exercise of a trade in a village.<sup>24</sup> The court's decision of the case is worth quoting:

"And I believe the using of a trade in a country village as this is, is not within the statute,—Moreton, Justice, accorded, —Rainsford, Justice. It will be very prejudicial to corporations not to extend the statute to villages.—Twisden, Justice I have heard all the Judges say, that they will never extend that statute farther than they needs must."<sup>25</sup>

This refusal of the judges of the royal courts to extend the statute farther than they needs must, represents their general attitude from this time forward until the final repeal of the law.<sup>26</sup> More and more exceptions were made, more and more the way was opened to the evasion of the apprenticeship requirements. The development of British industry was not to be hampered by a system that was fast being outworn.

Practically all the prosecutions thus far instanced arose under the twenty-fourth section of the act, which forbade anyone to

<sup>21</sup> 3 Mod. 314, 3 Jac. II; See also the case of *Hobbs vs. Young*, 2 Wm. and Mary, Carthew, 164; 3 Mod. 317; Comb. 179-80.

<sup>22</sup> *Coward vs. Maberley*, 49 George III; 2 Camp. 126, 127. The defendant, an eminent coachmaker, was indicted for using the trade of a blacksmith without having served a seven years' apprenticeship. The defendant contended that he did not exercise the trade himself, but kept in his service ten or twelve journeymen blacksmiths, who had each served seven years.

It was decided that a man, without having himself served, might carry on particular branches of a general business through those who had been apprenticed to such branches.

<sup>23</sup> Quoted, Unwin, *Industrial Organization*, p. 252.

<sup>24</sup> 2 Keb. 583; 1 Ventris 51.

<sup>25</sup> 1 Mod. 26.



exercise any existing craft unless he had been brought up therein at least seven years as apprentice; but there were other clauses restricting the right of apprenticeship, and it may be asked whether these were enforced. Were woollen cloth weavers, outside of corporate or market towns, prosecuted for taking apprentices whose parents were not possessed of £ 3 freehold per annum?<sup>27</sup> Were masters in the clothing trades prosecuted for taking more than three apprentices to one journeyman, and for every other journeyman one apprentice?<sup>28</sup> Were merchants in corporate towns indicted for apprenticing the sons of persons not worth forty shillings or, in market towns, three pounds a year?<sup>29</sup> Finally, were actions brought against rural inhabitants for taking apprentices in other than the specified occupations of the cruder sort, or against townsmen for apprenticing the sons of those not free of the municipalities?<sup>30</sup> Later investigation may show such prosecutions but as far as my study goes these clauses were not enforced.<sup>31</sup>

But, if these clauses were not enforced, then the act probably did not operate very severely against the domestic system in town or country. If a town master in one of the clothing trades might take any number of apprentices without regard to the number of journeymen employed, if a merchant was not compelled to look to the propertied classes for his juvenile workers, if the children of husbandmen could be apprenticed as well as the sons of freemen of the towns, then a large supply of cheap labor would be available to capitalists. This would facilitate the development of the domestic system in the municipalities. If any lad might be apprenticed to any trade in the country, the rural domestic industries would likewise be fostered while the supply of agricultural laborers would be cor-

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<sup>26</sup> 3 Keble 400; *Hobbs vs. Young*, 2 Wm. and Mary. "It was adjudged in this case that the Statute doth not restrain a man from using several Trades, so as he had been apprentice to all." Holt. 67, 4 Mod. 145, 146; *The King vs. Fox*, 11 Will. 3, 1 Salk. 67; 12 Mod. 251; 1 Salk. 613; 10 Mod. 70, 71; Following the trade 7 years sufficient without any binding, "this being a hard law." 2 Salk. 613; *Strange* 552; 2 Camp. 397; *Bird, Selections, Master and Servant*, pp. 17, 21 and passim; *Bacon's Abridgement* VI, 522, 526 and passim; *Chitty, Law of Apprenticeship*, passim.

<sup>27</sup> Section 25.

<sup>28</sup> Section 26.

<sup>29</sup> Sections 20, 22.

<sup>30</sup> Sections 19, 21, 23.

<sup>31</sup> This statement does not include, of course, the attempts of the guilds to enforce their own by-laws through their own courts.

respondingly diminished. The very fact that actions were brought against rural artisans (in other than the crafts specified in section 23) for setting up as masters without having served their full terms,<sup>32</sup> indicates that rural apprenticeships were considered justifiable. Prosecutions were not against rural apprenticeships, most of which were, under a strict interpretation of the law, illegal, but for failure to serve the full term of such apprenticeship; while the case already referred to, in the twenty-first year of Charles II's reign shows the disposition to permit the exercise of a trade in the country even without the fulfillment of a previous seven years' apprenticeship.<sup>33</sup> It may be that the law hindered the development of rural manufactures by preventing artisans from setting up as masters or working as journeymen in the country without having served seven years, but as far as present evidence shows, it did not hinder masters from employing as many persons as they wished in the rural domestic industries, under the guise of apprenticeship.

Apparently, then, the statute did not obstruct the development of the domestic system in town or country to any extent—if indeed it obstructed it at all. But it must have been effective in extending the seven-year term of apprenticeship throughout the realm, for though enforced irregularly it was by no means a dead letter. Judging from such decisions as we have, the law seems to have been administered more strictly in some of the borough and county than in the royal, courts. Probably the requirement of a seven-years' apprenticeship was chiefly upheld by the guilds, whose power in turn the statute may have strengthened considerably.

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<sup>32</sup> Artisans in the parishes of Ashwell, Hunsdon, etc., were brought before the Hertford Sessions for failure to serve seven years before setting up. Extracts from Sessions Rolls, Vol. I, p. 26 (Year 1597-8; *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 45, 59, etc.

<sup>33</sup> 1 Mod. 26.

## CHAPTER V.

### APPRENTICESHIP AS AN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM.\*

If history is to be used effectively to shed light upon present problems it must be used guardedly; for the exact conditions of the past are never reproduced in the present. Many a problem of bygone ages has reappeared in modern times, but with so different a setting that the solution attained in the past may be ineffective today. So in the case of the problem of industrial education, which has become so prominent since the disappearance of the American frontier, it must not be forgotten by those who propose a revival of the apprenticeship system, that times have changed and that apprenticeship, as it existed in England from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century, would now be utterly out of place in the majority of occupations. On the other hand the system was, in its time, a success; for no institution could have lasted as long as this did unless it had met certain vital social needs. It brought about certain results for the individual and for society which we expect the industrial training of today to accomplish. A study of certain of its educational phases may, then, be of some practical use.

The success of the apprenticeship system during the Middle Ages and the period of the Renaissance was largely due to two factors: First, the close personal relationship and identity of interest existing between master and apprentice; and second, the supervision of master and apprentice by the craft guilds. These factors were fostered by the social and economic conditions of the Middle Ages, but passed away under the changed economy of modern times. To the loss of the proper personal relationship and identity of interest existing between master and apprentice, and to the lack of adequate supervision over this relationship is partially due the decay of the apprenticeship system.

As Sombart points out, one can only understand the relation of the master to his "Hilfspersonen" by remembering that all

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handicrafts had their origin in family life. Journeymen and apprentices entered completely into the family circle and in the common activity found a bond of union.<sup>1</sup> The reciprocal duties of master and apprentice are set forth in a general way in the indentures—articles of agreement at the time of binding—many of which are preserved in ancient records.<sup>2</sup> These indentures show that the chief duty of the apprentice was to serve his master faithfully, not only in business, but in the performance of household tasks or other services; the master was obliged to teach the lad his trade, to house, feed, and clothe him. More than this, he was supposed to give the youth such moral and religious training as a boy of immature years would naturally require.<sup>3</sup> In a word, it was his duty to prepare the boy to be not merely a good craftsman but a good citizen as well.<sup>4</sup> The closeness of the personal relationship between the two is clearly brought out by the fact that not rarely the apprentice led his master's daughter a bride to the altar.<sup>5</sup>

The apprenticeship system, as it existed in medieval times, offered opportunity to the youth of learning all branches of his trade. The shop was small; master and apprentice often worked side by side at the same bench. The master himself worked at all processes of his handicraft, and therefore it was comparatively easy for him to teach all processes to the lad at his side. It was comparatively easy, too, for the lad to follow all the workings of his master and to imitate them. The number of apprentices being small the master could give each one a

<sup>1</sup> Sombart, *Der Moderne Kapitalismus*, I, 118; vide also Strype's ed. of Stow's *Survey of London*, II, 331.

<sup>2</sup> Bateson, *Leicester*, III, 50; Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce, Early and Middle Ages*, pp. 349-50; Noble, *Ironmongers*, pp. 44-45; Clode, *Early History of the Merchant Tailors*, I, 344; Hibbert, *English Gilds*, pp. 52-53; Madox, *Formulare Anglicanum*, No. clxxviii; Bird, *Law Selections*, pp. 76 ff; Ashley, *Economic History and Theory*, II, 86, refers to a number of others.

<sup>3</sup> An ordinance of the Shoemaker's Gild of Carlisle provides that no master shall allow his apprentice to play cards in the master's house (Ferguson and Nanson, *Gilds of Carlisle*, p. 179). Some gilds required masters to see that apprentices went to church (Welch, *Pewterers*, I, 223; *Clothworkers' Ordinances*, pp. 133, 134; vide also Cunningham, "Growth of English Industry," etc., *Modern Times*, Part II, 629-30).

<sup>4</sup> "London 'Prentices," *Colburn Magazine*, V, 174, quoted from the *Cities' Advocate*, printed 1629; Strype's ed. of Stow's *Survey of London*, II, 331.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*



large part of his attention. Furthermore, as there were but few apprentices<sup>6</sup> and journeymen, there was but little division of labor, and therefore but little of the modern tendency to keep a boy employed on one or two processes to the exclusion of all others. It was to the interest of the master that the apprentice be able to assist him at every process of the craft. To the master, too, accrued the profits of the apprentice's toil during the latter's term of service,<sup>7</sup> and the more skillful the boy, the greater the gains of his employer.

In the same way the apprenticeship system favored the development of artistic ability. The long term of service, usually seven years in England, somewhat less on the Continent,<sup>8</sup> gave opportunity for the acquirement of that refinement of skill so necessary to the true artist. The careful, individual attention given by the right sort of master to the apprentice enabled the latter to avoid superficiality, while his own work furnished a worthy example for the lad's imitative powers. Then, too, since whatever the apprentice earned went to his master, the young man was forced to find his rewards, not in immediate pecuniary gain, which might tempt him to quick, superficial work, but in his employer's praise and in the joy of artistic creation. Finally the fact that he was one day to be a master himself would naturally lead the apprentice to a desire to acquire a knowledge of all processes of his craft, and to a dexterity of hand and artistic skill in construction. In general, then, the interests of master and apprentice in the days of handicraft were largely identical. Apart from the matter of personal attachment between the two, it was to the economic interest of each that the apprentice should become a skilled, artistic master-craftsman.

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<sup>6</sup> From the fifteenth century onward, however, the English gilds had frequently to forbid masters to take more than two, three, or four apprentices. This prohibition the wealthier masters resented and came more and more to disregard. Harris, *Coventry Leet Book*, I, 92; Smith, T., *English Gilds*, pp. 315, 316; Wadmore, *Skinners*, p. 26; Young, *Barber-Surgeons*, p. 64; Larbert, J. M., *Two Thousand Years of Gild Life*, p. 206; Welch, *Pewterers I*, iii; *ibid.*, pp. 185, 237-38; Smith, Adam, *Wealth of Nations* (Cannan ed.) I, 121, etc.

<sup>7</sup> 'Whatever the Apprentice gets of his own labour, or of his Master's Occupation or Stock, he getteth to him whose apprentice he is.'—Strype's ed. of Stow's *Survey of London*, II, 434.

<sup>8</sup> Brentano, *History of Gilds*, p. cxxix. While the period of apprenticeship was shorter on the Continent than in England, the period of journeyman service was longer. This period of journeymanhood fostered the development of artistic skill.

The results of the apprenticeship system are to be found in the handicraft work of the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Sombart holds that the aesthetic powers of the Renaissance craftsmen have been over-rated. He maintains that the finest productions are the work of artists who chose to express themselves through the crafts, rather than the work of skilled artisans.<sup>9</sup> Yet there are proofs that there were many artisans of high artistic ability. Sombart shows that it is unsafe to judge the craftsmanship of the Renaissance by the treasures of our "Arts and Crafts" museums, treasures which possess unusual artistic merit and which he holds to be the work of artists. On the other hand there are proofs of the artistic instinct even in the average craftsman. Certain relics in these museums are preserved, not for their artistic value, but for their historic or antiquarian worth, as interesting witnesses to a bygone age. A suit of armor, for example, would find a niche in the museum whether it possessed artistic merit or not, yet if one takes into consideration the lack of machinery in medieval times, it must be admitted that even the average suit of armor is a work of art. And it is the work of an armorer—an artisan—not an artists who chose to express himself through the medium of armor-manufacture.

As further proof of the artistic feeling and power of the mediaeval craftsman take some of the exquisite details in the cathedrals. The carvings on the pews or the walls, the wonderful ironwork and other details, indicate the skilled hand and aesthetic feeling of the craftsman. So numerous are these that it is impossible to think of them as the work of artists rather than of artisans. It is impossible that the obscene carvings so often tucked away in odd corners or cornices—carvings so incongruous with the majestic spiritual ideal dominating the great structure—were planned by the architect; they were rather the expression of the coarse but artistic sense of humor of some long-forgotten workman.

Jacquemart tells us that the artisans known as joiners developed the handicraft of making and decorating furniture in a wonderful manner. They approached the sculptors in artistic

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<sup>9</sup> "Die Renaissancezeit hat ein so herrliches Kunstgewerbe nicht deshalb besessen, weil die Handwerker Künstler, sondern weil die Künstler Handwerker waren, richtiger." *Der Moderne Kapitalismus*, I, 85. Sombart's estimate of the artistic ability of the average craftsman is, I think, too low. Vide his discussion of this in I, 85, and compare with the evidence presented above.

power.<sup>10</sup> It is not necessary to multiply examples. Enough has been said to show that dexterity of hand and power of artistic expression were widespread in the days when the apprenticeship system flourished.

The efficiency of the apprenticeship system was guarded by gild supervision. It may be objected that I have praised the medieval system too highly. It may be pointed out that masters sometimes ill treated their apprentices, neglected them, and failed to instruct them properly, and that apprentices were sometimes idle, thievish, and faithless. All this is true, even of the medieval system, though most of the examples of such bad conduct come from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In medieval times the danger of such bad consequences was lessened by the fact that both master and apprentice were responsible to the gild. The gilds passed many ordinances to regulate their conduct,<sup>11</sup> and these ordinances were enforced in the gild courts.<sup>12</sup> Such supervision over conduct was far more effective

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<sup>10</sup> History of Furniture, p. 22.

<sup>11</sup> Vide in this connection Welch, *Pewterers*, I, 4; Riley, *Memorials of London Life*, pp. 243, 247; Herbert, *London Livery Companies*, I, 13; Harris *Coventry Leet Book*, Part III, 671; Young *Barber-Surgeons*, p. 181, etc.

<sup>12</sup> "The authority of the craft, even after it had altogether fallen into the hands of its wealthier members, continued to be used for the protection alike of apprentices and of journeymen against the violence of their employers."—Ashley, *Economic History and Theory*, II, 106.

The following case arose in the court of the Pewterers' Company of London in 1559. "At the same Courte John Smythe Sometime apprentice with Geffery Mathewe was commytted to warde by the Mr (master of the company) wardens and assystance for that he had promysed to serve a certayne tyme with John Cutler as maye apeare the last yeare and after his promys within ii days after went to maydstone and wrought with a Tynkerd and made hym mowlds."—Welch, *Pewterers*, I, 207.

Clode, C. M., *Early History of Merchant Taylors*, I, 209: "Apprentices were under the care of the Company, and masters were fined for ill treatment. . . . In the case of misusing an apprentice an entry of April 2d, 1563, shows that very summary measures were taken against his master, thus, 'The Wardens have comyted Thomas Palmer to pryson for that he hath broken Henry Bourefelde his apprentice's hedd without any just cause. Henry Bourfelde by composition had comytted his two apprentices to serve with Thomas Palmer during and for so long time and such consideration as they were agreed. And for that the said Thomas Palmer hath not only evill used himself towards the said apprentices, but for that they have not had of hym sufficient meate and drynke as they ought to have had.'" (p. 209).

'Jan. 12, 1571, in case where cassock had been made too small,

when the towns were small and the actions of the gild members open to close scrutiny than when the towns had grown to cities and less was known of the private life of the gild members and their workmen.

The supervision of the gild was not confined to observation and control of conduct, but was extended to the actual work of instruction as well. Sometimes the gilds specified what the master should teach. Thus the Clockmakers of London in 1632 provided that every person of their trade should "teach and instruct his said Apprentice and Apprentices in such manner and form as their Predecessors have done, which is to keep daily him and them in his House, and there by himself or his sufficient journeyman, teach or instruct them in the making of Cases or Boxes of Silver or Brass, and likewise the several Springs belonging to a Watch, Clock, or Larum, and likewise all other particular and peculiar things belonging to such Watches, Clocks, Larums, Mathematical Instruments, and Sun-Dials his or their Master shall teach and instruct them in."<sup>13</sup> The Apothecaries and the Barber-Surgeons of London made elaborate provision for the matters to be taught their apprentices;<sup>14</sup> but as a rule it was not necessary for the gilds to specify the subject matter, as the masters knew perfectly well what was expected of them.

While the gilds did not indicate directly what was to be taught they did take measures to see that the teaching was properly done. They did not intend to allow apprenticeship to become a farce nor to permit the apprentice to become a master at the end of seven years whether or not he was a skilled craftsman. One of the objects of the gilds was the maintenance of a high standard of production and for this they were responsible to the community.<sup>15</sup> In at least one case, that of the Cappers of Coventry, it was a duty of the principal master of the craft to go round the city annually, examining every apprentice to see that he was receiving proper instruction from his master.

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Master and Wardens ordered that defendant pay the plaintiff forty shillings 'and shall take to hym self the said garment to make his best pffit accordingly' " (ibid., p. 210; from records of the company).

<sup>13</sup> Atkins, Clockmakers, p. 44.

<sup>14</sup> Barrett, History of the Apothecaries of London, p. xxxiii; ibid., pp. 197-98; Young, Barber-Surgeons, pp. 309-10.

<sup>15</sup> Webb, History of Trade Unionism, p. 17.



Practically all the gilds insisted on some sort of an examination of the apprentice at the end of his term.<sup>16</sup> At first this merely took the form of a requirement that the master or other "able men" testify to the fitness of the apprentice to "occupy" his craft.<sup>17</sup> Later on, however, the gilds insisted that he be examined by the masters or chief officers of the company and proved "sufficient and able to occupie."<sup>18</sup> Thus the Clothworkers of London insisted that the candidate for mastership "shear and worke" in the Common Hall of the gild before the Master Wardens, and certain of the assistants.<sup>19</sup> The Shoemakers' Gild of Carlisle required that the apprentice, after completing his term "have foure paire of shoes given him to worke"; if the shoes were well wrought he was to be admitted a journeyman, but if not he must be a "hireman."<sup>20</sup> Rather more complicated examinations were laid down in the ordinances of the Barber-Surgeons and the Apothecaries,<sup>21</sup> examinations which must have done much toward changing the craft of "barbery" into the science of surgery, the art of the apothecaries into the science of medicine.

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<sup>16</sup> Bickley, *Little Red Book of Bristol*, II, 96, "Ordinances of the Skinners," 1408; *ibid.*, p. 104, "Ordinances of the Cordwainers"; *Hist. Mss. Comm.*, Twelfth Report, IX, 521, "Ordinances of the Butchers of Gloucester," 1454; *ibid.*, Fourteenth Report, VIII, 135, "Ordinances of the Weavers of Bury St. Edmunds," 1477; Black, W. H., *Leathersellers*, p. 123, "Ordinances of the Pouchmakers," 1501; "Clothworkers' Ordinances," p. 26; Welch, *Pewterers*, II, 243; Fox, F. F., *Merchant Taylors of Bristol*, p. 61. Many other examples might be adduced.

<sup>17</sup> *Munimenta, Gildhallae Lond.*, III, 442. *Liber Memorandum*, "Ordinance of the Cordwainers," 1272; Coote, *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Historical Society*, IV (1871), 30; Sharpe, *Calendar of Letter-Books*, Letter Book E, p. 13; Hudson and Tingey, *Records of Norwich*, I, 178; Kerry, in the *Antiquary*, XXIII, 28; Bickley, *Little Red Book of Bristol*, I, 38; *ibid.*, II, 87.

<sup>18</sup> The first requirement of this sort which I have seen was one made by the Fullers of Northampton about the middle of the fifteenth century. Markham and Cox, *Records of Northampton*, I, 292; see also "Ordinances of the Weavers of Bury St. Edmunds," *Hist. Mss. Comm.*, Fourteenth Report, VIII, 135.

<sup>19</sup> "Clothworkers' Ordinances," p. 26, Ordinances of 1531-32.

<sup>20</sup> Ferguson and Nanson, *Gilds of Carlisle*, pp. 179-80, "Shoemakers' Ordinances," 1595. The Bakers of York required that the apprentice, after completing his term, "shall at his first settinge up bake a batche of bread, and entreat the Searchers to come and se the same, whether it be well, lawfullye and workmanlie wrought and done or no."—Smith, L. T., *Archaeological Review*, I, 222.

<sup>21</sup> Young, *Barber-Surgeons*, p. 310; Barrett, *History of the Apothecaries*, p. xxxiii.

The difficulty of the examination must have varied greatly in different guilds, being probably rather a hard test in such crafts as the Apothecaries and Barber-Surgeons, the practice of whose arts required some skill, and rather a simple matter with the Fullers and other mechanical trades. There can be no doubt that it must have done much toward holding the apprentice to a high standard of workmanship. Its efficacy, of course, varied with the standards of the individual guilds. It seems to me that in the case of the industrial arts the examination system would be more effective than examinations upon book knowledge. The candidate required to make a pair of shoes before the craft-masters must be possessed of real skill in his art in order to do well. Dexterity of hand cannot be "crammed." Thus the strength of the apprenticeship system was greatly increased by the guilds through their surveillance of the relations between master and apprentice and through their examination system.

Whatever may have been its weak points the medieval apprenticeship system is by no means to be despised; it was well adapted to the social and economic conditions of the time. The household, the small shop, and the guild, were the great factors in industrial life. There was little capital, little machinery, no factory system, no great gulf between employer and employee. The apprentice became a part of his master's household and was given a home and instruction in a trade at but little expense save that of time. If the master did his duty, skill and artistic ability were developed in the lad. At the end of his term of service he passed into the ranks of the master craftsmen and looked forward to a life of comparative economic security and perhaps of some honor as a skilled artisan or merchant, and as a citizen. If there was little opportunity for him to rise out of his class there was great opportunity for him to rise in it.

On the other hand, the apprentice was an important asset to the master, giving him increasingly valuable aid in his craft work, attending to his customers, and performing irksome menial duties for his employer, his employer's wife, and other members of the household. Broadly speaking, the interests of master and man did not conflict, but were in large measure identical. Such a relationship grew from the fact that the household and the small shop were the foundations of industry.

By means of craft supervision, and especially by means of the examination system, the guild was able to see that a certain

standard of workmanship was maintained. Towns were small, gild members few, concealment of bad conduct difficult, so that gild supervision could be made very effective.

We need not hesitate to affirm that the result of this system of apprenticeship was the development of well-wrought and artistic productions. It can scarcely be denied that the superiority of the later Middle Ages and of the Renaissance over the early Middle Ages, in the field of industrial arts, was due in some degree to the institution of apprenticeship. The system offered opportunity for the development of skill and artistic ability, and while it is true that not every apprentice took advantage of this opportunity, some did, and produced good work. On the whole, the institution met the needs of medieval and early modern times as a system of industrial education.

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE DECLINE OF THE ENGLISH APPRENTICESHIP SYSTEM.\*

It has been brought out that under the control of the guilds the English apprenticeship system was something of a success, and that this success was partly due to the personal relationship existing between master and apprentice, and partly to the effective supervision of this relationship by the craft guilds. Eminently suited as the institution was to the conditions of the Middle Ages, however, it was not equally well adapted to all times and all circumstances. In the present chapter an attempt will be made to show: first, how the custom of apprenticeship was continued by the English government after the decline of the gild system; secondly, that the institution lost its strength as a result of the changed social and economic conditions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; and thirdly, that a revival of the apprenticeship system would prove inadequate as a solution of the present problem of industrial education.

Neither by the passage of bombastic regulations and by-laws nor by the prosecution of offenders against these laws were the guilds able to save themselves from decline. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries their monopoly of the town markets was being invaded,<sup>1</sup> while at the same time they were losing control of their wealthier members. Brentano says that in the sixteenth century the government of the guilds was "entirely

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<sup>1</sup> The mayor of Chester, for example, in Elizabeth's reign, procured certain men to introduce the manufacture of Shrewsbury Cloth, whereupon "The Weavers' Company adopt such a threatening attitude that these strangers leave the city, but the corporation will not allow this interference, and give formal permission to the foreign weavers to work in the city, on the condition that they confine themselves to one kind of cloth and make it in their dwelling-houses or shops, and not elsewhere." Morris, R., *History of Chester*, p. 408; *Doncaster Records*, Vol. IV, p. 15; *Reading Records*, Vol. II, p. 170; *Nottingham Records*, Vol. V, p. 251; *Ibid.*, p. 419.



transferred into the hands of the richer gild members,"<sup>2</sup> and though this is probably an exaggeration, it is certainly true that during the sixteenth and succeeding centuries, the more powerful craftsmen resented and effectually resisted many of the gild restrictions, especially those limiting the number of apprentices.<sup>3</sup> It is indeed possible and even probable that in some of the old corporate towns the companies, even in the eighteenth century, retained a considerable hold upon the local market;<sup>4</sup> but on the other hand, much of England's industry was moving to new centres, like Manchester and Birmingham, where no such control operated and where manufactures developed rapidly on a capitalistic basis.<sup>5</sup> As a whole, the gilds in the eighteenth century were in a decidedly decadent condition.<sup>6</sup>

In spite of the decline of the craft gilds, however, the institution of apprenticeship, instead of perishing, achieved a new importance in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as an element of British economic policy. This was due chiefly to the passage of two laws, the Statute of Artificers and an act of 1601,<sup>7</sup> entitled, "An Acte for the Releife of the Poore."

The relation of the apprenticeship system to the first of these laws has already been shown. The other measure brings to a culmination a series of provisions in various statutes beginning with an act of the twenty-seventh year of Henry VIII's reign,<sup>8</sup> relating to the compulsory apprenticeship of beggar children who would otherwise be a burden upon the country. The fifth section provides that parish authorities may bind out such poor

<sup>2</sup> History of Gilds, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> Unwin, Gilds of London, p. 346; Felkin, W., History of the Machine-wrought Hosiery and Lace Manufactures, p. 73; Act 20, Charles II, c. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Smith, Adam, Wealth of Nations, (Cannan, ed.) Vol. I, p. 131. "If you would have your work tolerably executed, it must be done in the suburbs where the workmen, having no exclusive privilege, have nothing but their character to depend upon, and you must then smuggle it into the town as well as you can."

<sup>5</sup> Brentano, History of Gilds, p. 100; Baines, History of the Cotton Manufacture, p. 106; Unwin, Industrial Organization, pp. 4-5.

<sup>6</sup> Cunningham, Growth of English Industry and Commerce, Modern Times, Part I, p. 322; Ibid., pp. 324, 514; Unwin, Gilds of London, pp. 346-349; Lambert, Two Thousand Years of Gild Life, p. 183; Felkin, op. cit. pp. 61-81.

<sup>7</sup> 43 Eliz. C. 2.

<sup>8</sup> 27 Hen. VIII, C. 25; 1 Edw. VI, c. 3; 5 Eliz. C. 4; 39 Eliz. c. 3; 43 Eliz. C. 2; Leonard, E. M., Early History of English Poor Relief, p. 55.

children, male and female, as apprentices, until they arrive at an age of maturity.<sup>9</sup>

These two acts of the fifth and forty-third years of Queen Elizabeth must have very greatly increased the number of apprentices, who were, however, drawn very largely from a lower stratum of life than formerly. In this way the institution of apprenticeship was continued under new auspices at a time when the gilds were dying out.

The attempt was made to extend to the parish apprenticeship system the idea of the personal relationship between master and apprentice, which had been so important an element in medieval times. The master was still supposed to perform the duties of a parent toward the indentured child, and in some cases was expected to provide him or her with some sort of an elementary education. Thus in 1584, a glover of Leicester agreed, for twenty shillings "to take an orphan boy and keep him as his own child, without further cost to the town, till he is of years of discretion, and then take him as an apprentice, or keep him at school, as well as if he were his own child, 'if he will take learning.'"<sup>10</sup> No general law to compel masters to see to the education<sup>11</sup> of parish apprentices was enacted in England, however, until 1802.

In the American colonies, on the contrary, many laws were passed on this subject, and it is probable that a large proportion of the population received instruction in the elements of knowledge under the apprenticeship system. In Massachusetts the law of 1642 empowered the selectmen of the towns "to take account, from time to time, of all parents and masters, and of their children, especially of their ability to read and understand the principles of religion and the capital laws of the country."<sup>12</sup> In this colony all subsequent poor and apprenticeship laws made provision for the instruction of apprentices in reading and writing.<sup>13</sup> In Connecticut the Code of 1650 made

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<sup>9</sup> "It shall be lawful for the said church-wardens and overseers (of the poor) or the greater part of them, by the assent of any two justices of the peace aforesaid, to bind any such children, as aforesaid, to be apprentices, where they shall see convenient, till such man-child shall come to the age of four and twenty years, and such woman-child to the age of one and twenty years, or the time of her marriage."

<sup>10</sup> Bateson, *Leicester Records*, Vol. III, p. 197; Markham and Cox, *Northampton*, Vol. II, p. 323.

<sup>11</sup> Other than instruction in a craft.

<sup>12</sup> *Records of the Massachusetts Colony*, Vol. II, p. 6.

<sup>13</sup> Clews, *Colonial Educational Legislation*, p. 59.

it incumbent upon masters to catechise their children and servants once a week at least, "in the grounds and principles of religion,"<sup>14</sup> and to teach "by themselves or others their children and apprentices so much learning as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue and knowledge of the capital laws."<sup>15</sup> A Virginia statute of Anne's reign commanded masters to whom orphan children were bound, to teach these children to read and write.<sup>16</sup> It is probable that the custom of requiring masters to give such instruction in the elements of knowledge was quite general throughout the colonies.<sup>17</sup> In all this is evidence of the continuation of the idea that the master was responsible for more than the purely industrial training of his apprentices.

In spite of the attempts to continue the personal relationship between master and apprentice during the modern period, however, this relationship and the identity of economic interest between the two were being gradually undermined in various ways. The very nature of the parish apprenticeship system was such as to create a gulf between masters and their fledgeling workmen. It must be remembered that these children were often from the very lowest stratum of society; they were apt to be idle and immoral,<sup>18</sup> and they were far less likely to receive sympathy and consideration from those to whom they were bound than were the earlier guild apprentices, who, for the most part, came from the same social level as their masters. Parish apprentices were not so likely to be received into the household of their employer as members of his family. The social gulf now existing between manufacturer and operative finds its prototype in the chasm between masters of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the lads indentured to them by parish authorities.

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74. The following proviso is made, however, "if any be unable to do so much, that then, at the least, they procure such children or apprentices to learn some short orthodox catechism, without book, that they may be able to answer to the questions that shall be propounded to them out of such catechisms by their parents or masters or any of the selectmen, when they shall call them to a trial of what they have learned in this kind."

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> Hening, *The Statutes at Large (Virginia)* 4 Anne C. 33.

<sup>17</sup> *Records of Providence (R. I.)*, Vol. IV, p. 156, and *passim*; Clews, *op. cit.*, p. 479, quoting from *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, Vol. I, p. 448; etc.

<sup>18</sup> Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations* (Cannan, editor), Vol. I, p. 124.

The gulf must have been widened, moreover, by a law passed near the end of the seventeenth century, compelling persons, whether they liked or no, to receive apprentices assigned and bound out to them by the parish authorities.<sup>19</sup> There is on record an instance in which a girl was bound out to an unfortunate vicar who was to teach her agriculture. The clergyman wrote an indignant letter, complaining that "By virtue of an Act passed the last sessions of Parliament Justices of the Peace being armed with power to compel persons, upon the penalty of £ 10, to take poor parish children apprentices, some of them in our county do execute it with that vigour as to force them upon the clergy; and particularly amongst others an apprentice girl is offered to be put upon me by an indenture signed and approved by Mr. Smith and Mr. Cotchett (?), two Justices of the Peace wherein I must covenant to teach her the art and mystery of husbandry."<sup>20</sup> The natural result of such a law as this of 8 and 9 William III would be, in many cases, to turn the master's feeling of mere social superiority into one of actual repugnance and dislike toward the wretched being entrusted to his care. It seems almost inconceivable to us that children could be thus arbitrarily forced upon parish residents.

Even before the parish apprenticeship system operated to widen the distance in social rank between master and apprentice, the influence of capitalism had begun to weaken the personal relationship between the two and to injure the effectiveness of the instruction given to the youth. As a rule the medieval craftsman was a man of small means, who could afford to keep but one or two apprentices. Most of the guilds passed rules limiting the number of apprentices that any one master might take; but as early as the fifteenth century there was an inclination on the part of employers possessed of cap-

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<sup>19</sup> 8 and 9 Will. 3, c. 30, sec. 5. "But there being Doubts whether the Persons to whom such children are to (be) bound are compellable to receive such children as Apprentices that Law (43 Eliz. c. 2) hath failed of its due Execution. Be it therefore enacted and declared by the Authority aforesaid that where any poor children shall be appointed to be bound apprentices pursuant to the said Act the Person or Persons to whom they are so appointed to be bound shall receive and provide for them according to the Indenture signed and confirmed by the Two Justices of the Peace and also execute the other part of the said Indentures."

<sup>20</sup> Letter from Rev. John Ward, vicar of Mickleover, March 15, 1628-9. Hist. Mss. Comm., 12th Rept., Appendix 3, p. 387. Quoted in Cox, Derbyshire, Vol. I, p. 243.



ital to disregard these rules. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the tendency to "overstock with apprentices" had extended itself to a large number of trades. The Framework Knitters' Company provided in their by-laws that no more than three apprentices be taken to one journeyman; in Anne's reign some masters took ten or more to one journeyman,<sup>21</sup> while later in the century a certain master "always had a staff of twenty-five apprentices, more or less, and never employed a journeyman for more than thirty years."<sup>22</sup> In the eighteenth century the Government abolished the medieval restrictions limiting the number of apprentices, in trade after trade.<sup>23</sup>

The impossibility of keeping up the old family relationship between master and apprentice under these conditions, the impossibility of giving adequate trade instruction is obvious. The capitalist manufacturer could not make twenty or thirty ragged children a part of his household, taking the place of a father toward them; nor would he be likely to spend his time in giving them the personal teaching so necessary to proper instruction in a trade. It was becoming less and less to his economic interest to do so, even had he been so inclined. For as the small shop was transformed into the factory through the increase in the number of apprentices and other operatives, the tendency was to confine workmen to one or two processes of manufacture in which they had become especially skilled.<sup>24</sup> Such a practice was, of course, subversive of any adequate industrial education. In general, then, the manufacturer failed to care properly for the social and economic interests of his apprentice; his predecessor, the medieval guild master, under the supervision of the craft gild, had equipped the youth for life far better.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Felkin, W., *op. cit.*, p. 23.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75; Act 20 Car. II, c. 6, sec. 4; Cunningham says that "There was one shop in Lancashire where fifty-five apprentices had been working at one time and only one journeyman." *Op. cit.*, *Modern Times*, Part II, p. 640.

<sup>23</sup> Webb, *Hist. Trade Unionism*, p. 47.

<sup>24</sup> Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, *Modern Times*, Part II, p. 615.

<sup>25</sup> Baines, in his *History of Cotton Manufacture*, says "There cannot be a doubt that the master is to blame, where any great immorality prevails in a mill."

"It were earnestly to be wished that master manufacturers were generally alive to the great influence which they possess and to the responsibility which consequently rests upon them. On their regulations, much of the health, the morals, and the comfort of their work-people depends."

These conditions, affecting so severely the lives of apprentices, were aggravated by the growth of cut-throat competition and the increased use of labor-saving machinery. For their own advantage, capitalists "used all their power to oppress the labourers, and drove down wages to starvation point."<sup>26</sup> In the middle of the eighteenth century the wages "for making the common kinds of worsted hose were reduced very low; and many of the parish apprentices, ill managed, ill taught, and little cared for, were reduced almost to starvation. Idle and dissipated habits were the consequence."<sup>27</sup> After Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations" appeared (1776) manufacturers used his laissez-faire theory as an intellectual and moral justification of their policy of unrestricted competition and control of industry.<sup>28</sup> Thus capital and competition brought antagonism between employer and employee, between master and apprentice.<sup>29</sup>

The invention of labor-saving machinery which ushered in the Industrial Revolution about the middle of the eighteenth century, while it marks a great advance in economic progress, marks the beginning of the last stage in the decay of the old apprenticeship system. The invention of machinery "tended to confine men more exclusively to particular departments of work,"<sup>30</sup> thus hindering them from attaining a thorough knowledge of all processes of any branch of manufacture. Frequently it rendered possible the substitution of unskilled labor,<sup>31</sup> thus making a long apprenticeship unnecessary from the economic viewpoint of the master. In many instances children were now able to tend machines and carry on work which had formerly required the attention of adults.<sup>32</sup> Thus was the institution metamorphosed into the practice of child labor; the children might retain the name of apprentices, but they were practically wretched, unintelligent little factory hands.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Toynbee, *Industrial Revolution*, p. 66.

<sup>27</sup> Felkin, *History of the Machine-wrought Hosiery and Lace Manufactures*, p. 82.

<sup>28</sup> Webb, *History of Trade Unionism*, p. 49.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25; Brentano, *History of Gilds*, p. 89.

<sup>30</sup> Cunningham, *op. cit.*, *Modern Times*, Part II, p. 615; Baines, *History of Cotton Manufacture*, p. 184.

<sup>31</sup> Cunningham, *op. cit.*, *Modern Times*, Part II, p. 615.

<sup>32</sup> Baines, *History of Cotton Manufacture*, p. 239.

<sup>33</sup> Baines writing about 1835, says "More than one-third of the mill operatives in England are children, half of whom are under 14 years of age." *Hist. Cotton Manufacture*, p. 380.

While these results are partly attributable to the changed social conditions which we have been describing, they are also due to the lack of any supervision over the master and his apprentice, to take the place of that once supplied by the gilds. There was no gild court to see that the master treated his apprentice properly, gave him good food and clothing and instructed him in his trade. There was no adequate system of examinations to test the results of the apprentice's work and the master's teaching. It is true that there was a great system of courts in England, provided to redress wrongs and punish offenders, but there was no institution vitally interested, as the gild had been, in the welfare of the apprentice and in his relation to his master.

The apprentice might be neglected, starved and brutally treated by his master; he might live a life of idleness or wickedness, and nothing of all this come to the light of day. In the stocking-trade, for example, the custom grew up of allowing the apprentice to work pretty much when and in what manner he pleased "and he became too often the 'shacking lounging stockinger.'"<sup>34</sup> In 1801 it was found that a man named Jourvaux employed sixteen apprentices in tambour work, supplied but two beds for the whole number and kept them at work for so long a time and in such a manner that they came near being disabled for life.<sup>35</sup> It is even said that apprentices were sometimes murdered by their masters for the sake of the premiums that went with each lad bound out by the parish authorities.<sup>36</sup> Could anything like this have happened in the days when gild power was at its height?

It is true, indeed, that legislation attempted to set up a system of supervision for parish apprentices, but its effectiveness is not to be compared with that of the medieval gilds. The law of 1601 and succeeding statutes placed the duty and power of binding out poor children in the hands of the parish authorities—churchwardens and overseers of the poor—and the justices of the peace. These officials were to see to it that master and

<sup>34</sup> Felkin, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

<sup>35</sup> Hutchins & Harrison, *History of Factory Legislation*, p. 14; *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>36</sup> "Sir Samuel Romilly says in his *Diary* (Vol. II, p. 374) that he has known cases where the apprentices were murdered by their masters in order to get fresh premiums with new apprentices." Hutchins and Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

- apprentice did their duty by each other.<sup>37</sup> This system of supervision may possibly have worked well during part of the seventeenth century,<sup>38</sup> but there is every evidence that in the eighteenth century it was badly administered. A writer of 1732 says that " 'Parish officers- -to save Expense, are apt to ruin children by putting them out as early as they can, to any sorry masters that will take them, without any concern for their Education or Welfare.' " <sup>39</sup> With the growth of the factory system, parish children seem to have been bound out in batches to manufacturers "and the parish authorities were very negligent about seeing that the terms of the indentures were properly complied with."<sup>40</sup> The wretched condition of apprentices, especially of those in factories where hours of labor were sometimes inconceivably long, their failure to receive adequate instruction in their trades, may be attributed in part to the neglect of the parish authorities and to the failure of these officers to exercise proper supervision over the relationship between master and apprentice.

- In 1802 the government roused itself to a more vigorous effort to remedy the evils clustering around the apprenticeship system. An act was passed for the "Preservation of the Health and Morals of Apprentices and others, employed in Cotton and other Mills, and Cotton and other Factories."<sup>41</sup> This law ordered every master or mistress of a mill to supply every apprentice "with suitable linen, stockings, hats, and shoes," one complete new suit to be delivered once a year. No apprentice was to be compelled to work more than twelve hours in any one day, nor to work between nine at night and six in the morning. It was also enacted that every apprentice should be instructed during some part of every working day in reading, writing, and arithmetic, by some person provided and paid by the master and mistress. Furthermore, religious instruction was to be given. "Every apprentice. . . . shall, for the space

<sup>37</sup> 43 Eliz. c. 2, sec. 5; 8 and 9 William, III, c. 30; 17 Geo. II, c. 3; 17 Geo. II, c. 38; 20 Geo. II, c. 19; 7 Geo. III, c. 39; 32 Geo. III, c. 57; 33 Geo. III, c. 55; 42 Geo. III, c. 55; 42 Geo. III, c. 46; 56 Geo. III, c. 29.

<sup>38</sup> Miss Leonard is of opinion that the law was well administered during the period immediately preceding the Civil War. Leonard, E.M., *Early History of English Poor Relief*, pp. 216-217.

<sup>39</sup> Hutchins and Harrison, *History of Factory Legislation*, p. 6.

<sup>40</sup> Cunningham, *op. cit.*, *Modern Times*, Part II, p. 629; 7 Geo. III, c. 39; 33 Geo. III, c. 55; 56 Geo. III, c. 29.

<sup>41</sup> 42 Geo. III, c. 73.



of one hour at least every Sunday, be instructed and examined in the principles of Christian religion, by some proper person to be provided and paid by the master or mistress of such apprentice." Masters and mistresses were to see to it that apprentices attended divine service regularly.

In this act, then, we have an attempt to restore something of the old personal relationship between master and apprentice, to force upon the master something of responsibility for the moral and physical welfare of his young charges. But manufacturers could not be made to accept this responsibility, so that this and succeeding "factory Acts" failed in their purpose.<sup>42</sup> Social progress did not keep pace with economic advance and the twentieth century is therefore attempting to solve problems created by the seventeenth and eighteenth.

Not many years later the apprenticeship clauses of the Act of Fifth Elizabeth were abolished, first for those engaged in the woollen manufactures,<sup>43</sup> and in 1814 for all trades.<sup>44</sup> This did not mean that the apprenticeship system was entirely done away with; it was still continued in certain trades and as a part of the poor law. But it meant that manufacturers could now employ operatives whether these had served a seven-years' apprenticeship or not. Nor need employers any longer make even a pretense at giving young employees a real knowledge of their manufactures.

It is evident from all this that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the English apprenticeship system was by no means a success. Neither the social nor the economic interests of the apprentice were cared for properly. In medieval times the master had received the boy into the family life, looked after his moral and religious, as well as his physical welfare, and in teaching him his craft, had given him the advantage of individual instruction. If the master were negligent in his teaching, if he failed in his social duty toward the lad, he was called to account by the authority of the guild.

In general the medieval apprentice was not ill-prepared to take his place in society. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries manufacturers were outgrowing the guild system and paid less and less attention to restrictions made upon the num-

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<sup>42</sup> Hutchins and Harrison, *History of Factory Legislation*, p. 17; Baines, *History of Cotton Manufacture*, p. 479.

<sup>43</sup> 49 Geo. III, c. 109.

<sup>44</sup> 54 Geo. III, c. 96.

ber of apprentices by either the gild or the government. With a large number of apprentices the manufacturer could not sustain the same personal relations as with one or two. Craft instruction and moral training suffered accordingly. Furthermore, with the employment of large numbers of apprentices came the temptation to the master to perfect each apprentice in one or two processes instead of teaching him the whole trade. Finally, as the use of machinery increased, the need for skilled labor decreased and not infrequently the apprentice became merely the unskilled operative of a machine. On the other hand, the manufacturer needed not only a wide knowledge of his craft, but a considerable amount of capital as well, to succeed in his business. Thus it came about that the apprentice in many branches of manufacture could not look forward to becoming a master as a matter of course, but was forced to remain a factory operative all his life.

The social gulf between the master and his apprentices, which was in many cases created by the rise of capital, was further increased by the parish apprenticeship system. Apprentices drawn from the lowest portion of society could not expect always to be received on terms of equality into their masters' houses, especially where the masters were forced by the authorities to take these apprentices. There was indeed an attempt to preserve the old personal relation between master and apprentice, but there was no institution like the gild to see that it was preserved properly. In general the attempt was not a success and the condition of the parish apprentices was frequently wretched indeed. This is true not merely of the factories, but of the handicrafts as well. In its latter days, then, the apprenticeship system was a failure.

Would it be a success if it were generally revived at the present time? There can be no doubt that many of the factors instrumental in breaking down the old system are dominant in industrial life today. Capital is a prime moving force, the factory system is firmly fixed, the captain of industry deals with large numbers of operatives, not with a few journeymen and apprentices. The social gulf between employer and employee is as great as ever, the economic difficulties preventing the operative from rising into the manufacturing class are greater than ever. More than this, there is a distinct antagonism between the employing and the employed classes. These conditions would make it impossible to bring back the old per-

sonal relationship and identity of economic interest between master and apprentice, which formed so important an element of the success of the old system.<sup>45</sup> If the apprenticeship system is to be revived, then, it must be revived in some form totally different from that of the Middle Ages.

It must be remembered that the problem of industrial education is both economic and social in character. It means not merely that the youth should be trained to become an efficient workman with a skilled knowledge of all branches of his trade, but it means also that there should be implanted in him high ideals in regard to his work, that his growing moral nature should be developed at a period in his life when temptation is most likely to assail him; in a word that he should be made an efficient high-minded member of society.

If the problem were merely the economic one of supplying manufacturers with skilled labor, it might possibly be left to the employing class for solution. Just now there is a growing demand among employers for skilled labor; consequently, enterprising manufacturing concerns are paying more attention to the apprenticeship system, and are establishing apprentice schools which have met with some success.<sup>46</sup> There can be no doubt, too, that certain specialized branches of manufacture can never be well taught save in concerns carrying on these industries.<sup>47</sup> On the other hand, the demand of employers for skilled labor affects but a small proportion of the industrial classes, for employers need thoroughly trained mechanics for only a comparatively small number of positions, while the question of industrial education concerns some 90 per cent of the population. Already the advisability of giving apprentices a thorough knowledge of the principles underlying its manufacture is being questioned by at least one concern which has established a school for apprentices. Principal J. D. Burks, of the Teachers Training School, Albany, N. Y., writes:

"A few weeks ago I was inspecting one of the largest manufacturing establishments in New York state, which had recently organized a school for apprentices, provided it with a thoroughly modern equipment and placed in charge a well-educ-

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<sup>45</sup> This would not apply to those trades which still remain largely on a handicraft basis, such as those of barber and custom tailor.

<sup>46</sup> Carroll D. Wright, *The Apprenticeship System in Its Relation to Industrial Education*.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 35, 41.

ted man of high ideals and practical ability. Here, I thought, I had found an enterprise that might have something to teach the schools concerning their effort to meet concrete social needs. The master mechanic, to whose initiative this school was due, told me, however, that he had serious doubt as to the practical value of his apprentice school. He thought he would direct the teacher to use the machines for demonstration purposes only, as the boys spent too much time "figuring out how to get a piece of work set up, and how to get the thing done." "These boys," he said, "will work all their lives for our company, and we want them to do things our way. We don't want the boys to draw; we want them to read drawings. We don't want them to boss. We want them to be bossed." And he might have added, "We don't want them to think, but to become automatic machines."<sup>48</sup>

It is evident, then, that manufacturing establishments do not always feel it to their economic advantage to give apprentices a broad knowledge of the various processes of their branches of manufacture.<sup>49</sup>

It is hardly probable that the manufacturer will fully perceive the social significance of the movement for industrial education and co-operate with it. He has not done a great deal thus far to remove the deadening influences of factory labor, save where reforms have been forced on him from without. He views his employees from the economic rather than from the social point of view, and would be likely to consider the moral, aesthetic, and social training of the apprentices as more or less of a waste of time. Individual manufacturers of a philanthropic nature may do something to give their youngest workmen the

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<sup>48</sup> Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1909, p. 293.

<sup>49</sup> "President Charles S. Howe, of the Case School of Applied Science, Cleveland, Ohio, in 1907, sent a letter to 400 manufacturers in the state of Ohio, making certain inquiries relative to the apprenticeship system, and received replies from 124, including nearly all the large concerns among the 400 addressed. Of the 124 who answered, 44 had no apprenticeship system, and were not especially interested in it; 24 had no system, but were interested. The superintendents of these 24 stated that they had no apprenticeship system because they had very few men employed, but they hoped as soon as their facilities increased, and their work expanded, to establish such a system at least to a limited extent. Fifty-six companies answered that they had apprenticeship systems more or less complete, but most of them gave the apprentices nothing more than was absolutely necessary to enable them to do their work in the particular trades engaged in with fair success."—Wright, *The Apprenticeship System*, etc., pp. 18, 19.



right sort of industrial instruction from the social as well as the economic point of view, but not manufacturers as a class.

It is chiefly to the public school that we must look for a solution of the problem of industrial education. The public school can furnish, in greater degree than any other agency, those elements upon which the success of the medieval institution of apprenticeship so largely depended—an adequate system of supervision and the right personal relationship between teacher and taught. The public school has already developed a well-organized system of administration and supervision which it can easily extend to include industrial education. The thought of economic gain will not blind the eyes of the teacher to the social needs of his pupils, as it blinded the eyes of the master to the needs of the apprentice, and as it sometimes blinds the eyes of the manufacturer to the needs of the employee. More and more the public school is insisting that there be the right personal relationship between teacher and taught, for the ultimate aim of education must always be the welfare of the pupil. I doubt if there is any higher service that a teacher can perform for society than that of guiding boys in their formative years to high ideals of industrial work and of life.

## CHAPTER VII.

### ECONOMIC REASONS FOR VOCATIONAL EDUCATION IN AMERICA \*

A study of the history of education reveals the fact that educational movements and educational systems are, in far greater measure than is generally realized, the outgrowth of social and economic conditions. Education is the attempt of a civilization to perpetuate what it believes to be most vital in itself. This attempt is sometimes so successful, however, that a type or a phase of education often persists beyond its time of real usefulness. Suited to the conditions of one period, it has little value in a later age when the social forces that gave it birth have passed away. The study of rhetoric at Rome, of intense practical value in the time of Cicero, when the state needed orators to defend its liberties, became the useless ornament of a decadent nobility when the Roman Empire fell under the sway of the imperial hierarchy. When a type of education has thus persisted and lost its value there comes, sooner or later, the demand for a readjustment to the life of the times and the construction of a new type, or types which will more perfectly mirror the age.

Such a readjustment is taking place today in America; there is a deep-seated demand that education be brought in touch with "life." Much under discussion at the present time is the movement for further vocational education, which some believe to be a passing fad, others the product of enduring causes of varied character—psychological, sociological, and economic. The aim of the present chapter is to examine certain of the economic factors underlying this movement and thus to show that in future this type of education is likely to be of greater importance than some of its most ardent admirers now realize.

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Among the factors that render probable the general adoption of a great system of industrial and technical education are the following: 1—the present difficulty of obtaining skilled labor; 2—the passing of the American frontier; 3—the growing competition between American and foreign manufacturers; 4—the dependence of national power upon industrial strength, a matter which is likely to become more important in the future because of the position which the United States has taken as a world power; and 5—the general tendency of a civilization to perpetuate what it believes to be most vital in itself; a tendency seemingly exemplified in the value attached by modern society to material well-being, with the not impossible crystalization of this point of view in a new type of education.

Of the present demand for an increase of skilled labor, little need be said here, as much has already been written on the subject. American manufacturers claim that there are “no expert journeymen, second hands, foremen,”<sup>1</sup> and that the great mass of workingmen are lacking in what may be termed “industrial intelligence.”<sup>2</sup> At an earlier date skilled mechanics were drafted from the American small shop to the factory, or were obtained from Europe; but no longer can the manufacturer count on these two sources of supply.<sup>3</sup> The small shop is becoming more and more an institution of the past and the tendency in almost every field of production is toward larger manufactories and the combination of these in gigantic corporations. The all-around skill and fineness of execution resulting from the apprenticeship training of the small shop are therefore becoming increasingly rare.

The change in the character of immigration from Europe has cut off a once fertile source of supply of trained mechanics. Early immigration to America was largely from northern and western Europe,<sup>3</sup> and included a large proportion of skilled workmen. Immigration from this part of Europe has ebbed during the past thirty years<sup>4</sup> and a new tide has

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<sup>1</sup> Report of the Massachusetts Committee on Technical and Industrial Education (1906), p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Carlton, *Education and Industrial Evolution*, p. 199.

<sup>4</sup> In 1882 27.7% of our total immigration came from Great Britain, in 1905 10%. The number of persons emigrating from Germany to America decreased from 250,630 in 1882 to 37,564 in 1905. Commons, *Races and Immigrants in America*, p. 71; *Ibid.*, p. 69.

set in from the southeast. The new element includes a far smaller proportion of skilled labor than the old.<sup>5</sup>

The policy of the labor unions, also, has frequently been opposed to the production of a large number of skilled workmen. "Union after union limits the number of apprentices,"<sup>6</sup> and the manufacturers claim that this restrictive policy "has hastened the advent of the trade school many years."<sup>7</sup> Since Europe and the small shop no longer furnish a large supply of skilled labor and since the unions limit the number of apprentices, the manufacturer is in a quandary as to where to find the expert workmen that he needs. A system of industrial education seems to him to furnish a solution of the problem.

It may be asked why the manufacturers should not themselves furnish this industrial training, since their interests are concerned so closely; some of the larger establishments have, indeed, equipped apprentice schools of their own to meet the situation.<sup>8</sup> But there are certain reasons why the entire solution of the problem cannot safely be entrusted to the manufacturers. In the first place, under the factory system the division of labor has been carried to an extreme—further in America than in any other country<sup>9</sup>—and the manufacturer's temptation to subdivide labor is so strong that there is a constant tendency to perfect the youth in one or two processes rather than spend time and apparently waste money in teaching him all processes. In the next place so great has become the mobility of labor in modern times that the individual manufacturer is apt to feel that it is of little advantage to him to educate boys, who, once trained, may leave him to enter the employ of a rival concern. The manufacturer is primarily interested in the development of his own business rather than in the welfare of the American boy. Those who advocate a return to the medieval system of apprenticeship should remember that under modern industrial conditions there can be little of that comparative identity of economic interest and those close per-

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<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108.

<sup>6</sup> Report Massachusetts Committee on Technical and Industrial Education, 1906, p. 89.

<sup>7</sup> Proceedings of the 1906 meeting of the National Association of Manufacturers of the United States of America, p. 50.

<sup>8</sup> Wright, Carroll D., *The Apprenticeship System in the United States*.

<sup>9</sup> Commons, *Races and Immigrants in America*, p. 124.



sonal relations between master or manufacturer, and apprentice, upon which so much of the success of the institution once depended. For economic reasons, if for no other, society cannot afford to look solely to the manufacturer for a solution of the problem of industrial education.

The passing of the frontier affects tremendously the development of the United States. Until comparatively recent times there was a steady stream of colonization westward to take up the free or the cheap lands of the pioneer regions. It required but little capital for a man in the East to get together his belongings, leave his home, transport his family and goods by water or prairie schooner to the great west where land was plentiful and fertile, where independence and comfort were well within the realms of possibility. The Western claim meant hope to the discouraged, satisfaction to the discontented, opportunity to the ambitious. The westward movement also reacted favorably upon the east, for it drained off the surplus population, thus lessening competition and keeping up wages. In general, life was freer and easier in America than in the more crowded countries of Europe.

During the past twenty or twenty-five years the cheap lands have become far less plentiful than in earlier days. In the year 1889, when the rich territory of Oklahoma was about to be thrown open to occupation, thousands stood on the border, waiting for the signal to be given that they might rush in and stake out claims. During the decade 1900 to 1910 the prices of farm lands in many of the states rose enormously.<sup>10</sup> Cheap lands, then, can no longer be counted on as a vital force to aid us in the solution of social and economic difficulties. The great problem presented by the passing of the frontier is this: How are we to provide adequately for our constantly and rapidly increasing population? The success of Germany in dealing with a similar, but more difficult,

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<sup>10</sup> Percentage of increase in value of farm lands in certain States:

Alabama, 116.1.	Minnesota, 72.8.
Arizona, 475.8.	Missouri, 104.3.
Illinois, 105.8.	New York, 32.0.
Iowa, 127.2.	Ohio, 57.9.
Massachusetts, 32.8.	Virginia, 100.8.
Washington, 278.3.	

situation points out one answer to the question. Fit the individual for his proper place in life and increase the total wealth of the country by means of an education along industrial and technical lines.

The passing of the cheap lands is bound to give an impetus to the movement for scientific agriculture. In the early days the pioneer farmer could afford to exhaust the soil rapidly by his crude methods of agriculture and then move on to new and more fertile lands. Once the land ceases to be cheap this process becomes impossible while the competition of the pioneer farmer grows less formidable to the scientific farmer of the east. There must now be an intensive development of the soil similar to the development in Germany, fostered by scientific agriculture. "Hereafter," says Carver, "there will be a higher premium upon intensive and scientific farming than there has ever been before. So long as there was free public land to be had for the asking the opportunities for the scientific farmer were limited by the possibilities open to the pioneer farmer, who needed nothing but a team and a few implements and a very meager equipment in the way of knowledge to enable him to grow crops successfully."<sup>11</sup> A great development of experiment stations now becomes possible which would have been practically impossible fifty years earlier "because of the lack of opportunity for the use of scientific knowledge in competition with pioneering."<sup>12</sup> Thus the movement for the scientific study of agriculture has behind it a powerful influence in the passing of the frontier and the consequent need for an intensive development of the soil.

But the scarcity of cheap lands reacts also upon industrial conditions in the cities. As the expense of purchasing a farm becomes greater the natural tendency of the worker is to turn to industrial life for his means of support.<sup>13</sup> All the garish

<sup>11</sup> Carver, *Principles of Rural Economics*, p. 109.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 110.

<sup>13</sup> Figures on occupations taken from the Twelfth Census Reports (Volume on Occupations, p. L.) show the trend toward industrial and commercial work.

	1870.	1880.	1890.	1900.
Number engaged in Agricultural Pursuits . . . . .	5,948,561	7,713,875	8,565,926	10,381,765
Trade and Transportation . . . . .	1,244,383	1,871,503	3,326,122	4,766,004
Manufacturing and Mechanical Pursuits . . . . .	2,677,765	3,784,726	5,678,468	7,085,300

attractions of the modern city urge him in the same direction. The surplus population instead of being drained off to the West tends to take up its abode in the cities. The natural tendency of this is to increase competition and thus lower wages in industrial pursuits. At the same time the rise in the price of land tends to raise the price of agricultural products, making the cost of living greater for all classes in the towns. The struggle of the future will be far more severe than that of the past unless something is done to relieve it. The economic efficiency of all workers is becoming a necessity. The need for industrial education in America has therefore never been as great as it is now.

The economic leads to the moral problem. According to Prof. Carver, scarcity forms the economic basis of evil, "where there is scarcity there will be two men wanting the same thing; where two men want the same thing there will be an antagonism of interests; where there is an antagonism of interests between man and man there will be questions to be settled—questions of right and wrong, of justice and injustice—and these questions could not arise under any other circumstances. The antagonism of interests is, in other words, what gives rise to a moral problem."<sup>14</sup> According to this theory greater scarcity of land will bring growing antagonism of interest and hence moral problems more and more difficult of solution. One of the methods of alleviating this situation brought about by scarcity is to increase production.<sup>15</sup> Vocational education, then, in so far as it increases production, aids in satisfying the wants of man and helps to solve the moral problem.

In general, America is facing the difficulties—economic, social and moral—of a more crowded environment. Vocational education is one of the means for meeting this situation.

The recent and rather remarkable increase in the exports of American manufactures furnishes another reason for further industrial and technical training. In 1880 the United States held fourth place among the countries of the world as an ex-

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<sup>14</sup> Carver, *The Basis of Social Conflict*, Papers and Proceedings of the American Sociological Society, Vol. II (1907), p. 13. The development of vice, however, can scarcely be said to be wholly dependent upon scarcity.

<sup>15</sup> Carver, *The Economic Basis of Evil*, *Harvard Theological Review*, Vol. I, p. 110.

porting nation; in 1900 she ranked first.<sup>16</sup> In this development of our export trade, manufactures have played an increasingly important part, as the following table illustrates:

Percentage of manufactured goods in total of exports.<sup>17</sup>

1860 .....	12.7	1890 .....	17.8
1870 .....	15.0	1900 .....	31.6
1880 .....	12.5	1905 .....	35.8

As the population of the United States grows, the supply for exportation, of certain raw materials, such as wheat, must diminish. "The future appears to belong" to manufactures.<sup>18</sup>

If, then, the American manufacturer feels the need of vocational education for his employees when he competes only with his fellow-countrymen he must feel it far more keenly when he has to face on foreign ground the competition of other countries where systems of industrial and technical training are already established. Since the cost of many kinds of labor in America is so great as compared with other countries,<sup>19</sup> and since the natural resources of the country cannot be exploited by individuals to the same extent as formerly, the manufacturers of the United States can ill afford to neglect, in competition with their foreign rivals, so strong a weapon as vocational education.

It was on their return from the St. Louis Exposition of 1904 that the German visitors to America reported to their government that American competition was not to be taken seriously. Possessed of great natural vigor and physical resources, America was over-confident, self-satisfied and did not realize the need of concerted action to produce greater efficiency. The Germans pointed out the lack of a system of industrial training and spoke of the "reliance on a general and more or less superficial education."<sup>20</sup> One thing the foreigners failed to realize—the readiness of Americans to remedy defects once they are made clear. The Germans themselves kindly pointed out one of these defects.

<sup>16</sup> Bogart, *Economic History of the United States*, p. 454.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Coolidge, *United States as a World Power*, pp. 177-8.

<sup>19</sup> Great Britain, Board of Trade, *Report on the Cost of Living in German towns*, p. lii; United States, Bureau of Labor, *Digest of Report of British Board of Trade on Cost of Living in the Principal Industrial Towns of the United States*, pp. 58-59.

<sup>20</sup> Person, H. S., *Industrial Education*, pp. 4-5.



As the competition among individuals is growing constantly, so the struggle of the nations for power is ever increasing in intensity. At the present time this struggle is before everything else a contest for territory. "The nineteenth century has been an age of nationalism. The twentieth is to be the age of national imperialism."<sup>21</sup> It is not merely the American frontier that is disappearing; the free lands of the world are being brought under the jurisdiction of the powers as rapidly as possible. The diplomatists of London, Paris and the Wilhelmstrasse are ingratiating themselves with the weaker nations of the earth, while they watch one another with cat-like eyes, ready to checkmate a move of any one of their number toward territorial increase. For this international rivalry, with the possibility of war, the great states of the earth must be fully prepared.

Now the modern nation holds that its power depends largely upon the extent of its resources and the skill with which these are developed. "Money is the sinews of war." The smaller the territory, the greater must be the skill in the development of national resources. Only through the utmost forethought and ingenuity has Germany been able to maintain her huge army and powerful navy, to hold most of her rapidly increasing population within the borders of her limited territory. The world stands amazed at Germany's economic development and military strength, and asks how all this has been brought about. Many answers have been given but opinion seems to be strong that industrial and technical education have had much to do in the attainment of this result.<sup>22</sup>

Until comparatively recent times the United States has been a spectator of the game of world politics rather than a participant in it. Even today her diplomacy is in its infancy. But with the disappearance of the frontier, the war with Spain and the acquisition of island possessions, the United States has become a world-power. The war with Spain "brought new prestige and enlarged opportunities. The occupation of the Philippine Islands has placed the nation on an altogether dif-

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<sup>21</sup> Reinsch, *World Politics*, p. 3.

<sup>22</sup> Alderson, V. C., *The Need of Technical Education*, p. 4; Proc. National Association of Manufacturers for 1910, pp. 276-277; Blondel, *L'Education Economique*, p. XXI; Ware, F., *Educational Foundations of Trade and Industry*, p. 101; Person, H. S., *Industrial Education*, p. 13; Hanus, P. H., *Beginnings of Industrial Education*, p. 21.

ferent footing in the Orient, and it can no longer pose as a disinterested spectator of political changes in that quarter of the globe."<sup>23</sup> The United States, then, has definitely entered the world struggle. Like the other nations of the earth she will tend to develop her strength by all the means in her power; and vocational education is not the least of these means.<sup>24</sup>

It has already been stated that it is the tendency of each age to perpetuate by means of educational institutions those things which it believes to be most important. Thus the education of the Spartan was military because war and the preparation for war were the chief factors of Spartan life. The education of the Middle Ages was religious because the spirit of the age was religious and the Church was the greatest social force. Latin and Greek formed the staples of study during much of the modern era because of the combined influence of the Renaissance and Reformation. The Renaissance saw in the classics the great source of culture, saw in them also the great storehouses of practical information. To the reformers, Latin and Greek, with Hebrew, constituted the keys for unlocking the Scriptures and for getting at the commentaries thereon. So the school curriculum was dominated by these studies. Examples of this adjustment of education to the spirit of the times might be multiplied from history.

Now, it is the opinion of many that the modern "Zeitgeist" is dominantly economic, even materialistic in character. Paulsen says, "A materialistic view of the world after first taking hold of large sections of the educated classes, is now widely prevalent amongst the masses."<sup>25</sup> The struggle for money and material possessions seems to play a greater part than ever before in the world's history. There can be no doubt that the commercial development of the modern era and the industrial revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have distinctly colored our present civilization. If we admit the great value attached by modern society to economic as com-

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<sup>23</sup> Latané, *America as a World Power*, p. 319. See also Coolidge, *United States as a World Power*.

<sup>24</sup> "That nation," says Victor C. Alderson, "which neglects to equip its workmen with the armament of industry—technical education—will surely be defeated and become a decaying nation." Alderson, *V. C., Technical Education an Economic Necessity*, p. 14. For the value of industrial education in increasing production, see Person, *H. S., Industrial Education*, Chapter VI.

<sup>25</sup> *German Education, Past and Present*, p. 175.

pared with religious, æsthetic, or purely intellectual considerations, then it follows that our age will be likely, sooner or later, to construct a type of education more distinctly economic, more practical in character, than the present system. Such an adjustment has already begun in the movement for vocational training.

All this indicates that the movement for vocational education is no mere fad, but a response to important needs of modern civilization. The demand of the manufacturer for skilled labor is far greater than the supply, and, under modern industrial conditions it is difficult and often unprofitable for him to train adequately his apprentices. As the American manufacturer competes more and more with foreigners in the markets of the world, he must reduce the cost of production and enhance the quality of his goods. The far-sighted manufacturer, therefore, asks for industrial education. From the point of view of the workingman industrial education is becoming more and more necessary with the passing of the cheap lands. He must be thoroughly equipped in order to win in a struggle made fiercer by a more crowded environment. From the point of view of the nation, vocational education is necessary that national efficiency may be increased and our country hold its own in the world-struggle. Thus the future of this type of training seems assured.

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